



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

Arc 136.1



Harvard College Library

FROM

*the London Society
of Antiquaries*

29 Dec., 1887.

ARCHAEOLOGIA :
OR
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS
RELATING TO
ANTIQUITY.

ARCHAEOLOGIA:
OR
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS
RELATING TO
ANTIQUITY,
PUBLISHED BY THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON,
VOLUME L.

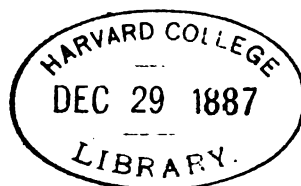


♫
LONDON :

PRINTED BY NICHOLS AND SONS, 25, PARLIAMENT STREET.
SOLD AT THE SOCIETY'S APARTMENTS IN BURLINGTON HOUSE.

M.DCCC.LXXXVII.

Arc 136.1



London Soc. of Antiquaries

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
I.— <i>Masons' Marks at Westminster Hall. By EDWIN FRESHFIELD, LL.D., V.P.</i> - - - - -	1—4
II.— <i>A Note on the Hall of William Rufus at Westminster. By J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, F.S.A.</i> - - - - -	5—8
III.— <i>The west side of Westminster Hall. By SOMERS CLARKE, F.S.A.</i>	9—16
IV.— <i>Some Remarks upon the Book of Records and History of the Parish of St. Stephen, Coleman Street, in the City of London. By EDWIN FRESHFIELD, LL.D., V.P.</i> - - - - -	17—57
V.— <i>Notes on recent excavations on the supposed site of the Artemisium, near the Lake of Nemi, made by Sir John Savile Lumley, G.C.B. By R. P. PULLAN, F.S.A.</i> - - - - -	58—65
VI.— <i>On a Saxon Chapel at Deerhurst, Gloucestershire. By JOHN HENRY MIDDLETON, M.A., F.S.A.</i> - - - - -	66—71
VII.— <i>Remarks on the fifteenth-century Diptych of the Chevalier Philip Hinckaert, Chastelain de Tervueren, in Brabant. By EVERARD GREEN, F.S.A., Hon. Member of the Spalding Society</i> -	72—80
VIII.— <i>The Manor of Aylesbury. By JOHN PARKER, F.S.A.</i> -	81—103
IX.— <i>Some further Notice of the Diamond Signet of Henrietta Maria, queen of Charles I.; of the King's Diamond; and of the Sapphire Signet believed to be that of Mary Queen of William III. By C. DRURY E. FORTNUM, V.P.S.A.</i> - - - - -	104—117
X.— <i>The Seal of Cardinal Andrea de Valle, A.D. 1517, with remarks on some other cardinals' seals of that period, ascribed to Lautizio of Perugia, and to Cellini. By C. DRURY E. FORTNUM, F.S.A.</i>	118—128
XI.— <i>On the English medieval drinking bowls called Mazers. By W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A.</i> - - - - -	129—193

	PAGE
XII.— <i>On Archaic conceptions of property in relation to the Laws of Succession; and their survival in England.</i> By G. LAURENCE GOMME, F.S.A. - - - - -	195—214
XIII.— <i>Documents relating to the death and burial of king Edward II.</i> By STUART ARCHIBALD MOORE, F.S.A. - - - - -	215—226
XIV.— <i>Some remarks upon the Regia, the Atrium Vestae, and the original locality of the Fasti Capitolini.</i> By F. M. NICHOLS, F.S.A. - - - - -	227—250
XV.— <i>The Alien Priory of St. Andrew, Hamble, and its transfer to Winchester College in 1391.</i> By THOMAS F. KIRBY, M.A. - - - - -	251—262
XVI.— <i>Further Notes upon Excavations at Silchester.</i> By F. G. HILTON PRICE, F.S.A. - - - - -	263—280
XVII.— <i>On the Mural Paintings in All Saints Church, Friskney, Lincolnshire.</i> Communicated by the Rev. HENRY JOHN CHEALES, M.A., Vicar of Friskney, and Rural Dean of Candleshoe - - - - -	281—286
XVIII.— <i>On Basket-work Figures of Men represented on Sculptured Stones.</i> By Rev. G. F. BROWNE, B.D. - - - - -	287—294
XIX.— <i>Reginald, bishop of Bath (1174–1191); his episcopate, and his share in the building of the church of Wells.</i> By the Rev. C. M. CHURCH, M.A., F.S.A., Sub-dean and Canon Residentiary of Wells - - - - -	295—360
XX.— <i>Notes on an Ancient Boat found at Brigg.</i> By ALFRED ATKINSON, A.M. Inst. C.E. - - - - -	361—370
XXI.— <i>Notes from the Records of the Manor of Bottesford, Lincolnshire.</i> By EDWARD PEACOCK, F.S.A. - - - - -	371—382
XXII.— <i>On excavations in an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Sleaford, in Lincolnshire.</i> By GEORGE WILLIAM THOMAS, Esq. - - - - -	383—406
XXIII.— <i>On certain churches on the eastern coast of Italy.</i> By EDWIN FRESHFIELD, Esq., Vice-President - - - - -	407—420
XXIV.— <i>The History of Malmesbury as a Village Community.</i> By G. L. GOMME, F.S.A. - - - - -	421—438
XXV.— <i>Two Inventories of the cathedral church of St. Paul, London, dated respectively 1245 and 1402; now, for the first time, printed, with an Introduction.</i> By W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A., Sub-dean of St. Paul's, and Keeper of the Records - - - - -	439—524

APPENDIX.

1. *The Standing Cup of the city of Westminster* - - 527—529
2. *On an iron sword of Scandinavian type found in London, now
in the British Museum; and a bronze stirrup of the same period
found near Romsey, in Hampshire, in the possession of Philip
B. Davis Cook, Esq.* - - - - 530—533
3. *Notes on a Danish sword found near Wallingford* - 534—536

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

PLATE		PAGE
† I*.	Masons' Marks. Westminster Hall, west side - - facing	2
† II*.	Westminster Hall, west side. Positions of the Masons' Marks facing	2
† III*.	Westminster Hall, west side. Positions of the Masons' Marks facing	2
† IV*.	Westminster Hall, west side. Positions of the Masons' Marks facing	2
I.	Longitudinal section of Westminster Hall - between	6-7
II.	Elevation and Ground Plan of the West Side of Westminster Hall - - - - - facing	9
† III.	Plan of the West Side of Westminster Hall (first-floor) between	10-11
† IV.	Plan of part of the West side of Westminster Hall between	10-11
† V.	Plan of the First-floor of the West Side of Westminster Hall between	14-15
† VI.	General Plan showing the Buildings round Westminster Hall in 1716 - - - - - between	14-15
VII.	Plan of Excavations at Lago di Nemi, on the site of the Artemisium - - - - - facing	60
VIII.	Ex Votos, from the Artemisium, near Lake Nemi - facing	62
IX.	1. Portion of a Terra-Cotta Frieze - - - - -	
	2. Inscription and a portion of a White Marble Cornice - - - - -	
	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> { <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; text-align: center;"> From the Artemisium, near Lake Nemi </div> </div> }	facing 64

† Presented by Edwin Freshfield, LL.D., V.P.

PLATE		PAGE
X.	Saxon Chapel at Deerhurst - - - facing	68
	Inscribed Slab in Saxon Chapel at Deerhurst, Gloucestershire -	69
	General View of Saxon Chapel at Deerhurst, Gloucestershire -	71
XI.	Dexter Panel of the Diptych of Philip Hinckaert - facing	76
	Badge or Rebus of Philip Hinckaert - - -	80
	Gold Signet Ring of Mary, Queen of William III. - -	111
	Diamond Signet of Charles I. - - -	112
XII.	Seal of Cardinal Andrea de Valle, 1517 } - - facing	119
	Seal of Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo, 1517 }	
XIII.	Examples of Mazer Prints - - - facing	136
	Print of a Mazer at Harbledown Hospital, Kent - -	138
	Early fourteenth-century Mazer at Harbledown Hospital, Kent	139
	Print of a Mazer at Harbledown Hospital, Kent - -	140
	Print of a Mazer at St. John's Hospital, Canterbury - -	144
	Mazer at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge - - -	144
	Part of band of a Mazer at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge -	145
	Sectional elevation of a Mazer at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge - - - - -	145
	Plan of top of pillar inside a Mazer at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge - - - - -	146
	Print of a Mazer at St. John's Hospital, Canterbury - -	146
	Mazer, and ring of its cover, at All Souls College, Oxford -	151
	Print from a Mazer at All Souls College, Oxford, with arms and initials of Thomas Ballard - - -	151
	Standing Mazer at Pembroke College, Cambridge - -	152
	Print of a Mazer (with section) at Fairford Church, Gloucester- shire - - - - -	156
	Print of a Mazer at Holy Trinity Church, Colchester - -	156
	Print of a Mazer at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge -	157
	Mazer at Oriel College, Oxford - - -	159
	Mazer in the possession of the Worshipful Company of Iron- mongers - - - - -	160
	Standing Mazer at All Souls College, Oxford - -	166
	Merchant's mark on print of a Mazer at St. Giles' Church, Cripplegate, London - - - - -	167

PLATE		PAGE
	Mazer, with inverted tazza for a foot, in the possession of W. Jerdone Braikenridge, Esq. - - - -	169
	Portion of the band (with section) of a Mazer in the possession of W. Jerdone Braikenridge, Esq. - - -	170
	Mazer (1585-6) in the possession of the Rev. H. F. St. John -	173
	Print of a Mazer (1585-6) in the possession of the Rev. H. F. St. John - - - - -	174
	Plan of Ruins between the Temple of Vesta and the Sacred Way - - - - -	229
XIV.	Fragment of Marble Wall and Tufo substructure of Marble Buildings - - - - - facing	230
	Marble Wall of the Stanza dei Fasti - - - -	237
	Restored plan and south elevation of part of the Regia -	247
	Plan and architecture of the <i>Summus Janus</i> , as designed by Ligorio - - - - -	249
XV.	Silchester. General Plan - - - - - facing	266
XVI.	Silchester. Plan of a building between the Forum and the Temple (Block VII.) - - - between	268-269
XVII.	Silchester. Plan of the Baths (Block IX.) - - - between	274-275
XVIII.	Silchester. Bird's-eye view of the Baths (Block IX.) - - - between	276-277
XIX.	Silchester. View showing section of Hypocaust in the Baths (Block IX. Chamber 8) - - - between	278-279
XX.	Friskney Church, Lincolnshire. Wall Painting of the Ascension - - - facing	281
XXI.	Friskney Church, Lincolnshire. Wall Painting of the Resurrection - - - - - facing	283
XXII.	Sculptured Cross-shaft at Checkley, Staffordshire - - - facing	288
	Sketch showing position of an ancient Boat found at Brigg -	361
	Sketch of stern-board - - - - -	363
	Longitudinal section of bottom of Boat - - - - -	363
	Section of floor-ridge - - - - -	364
	Section of shelf at stern - - - - -	364
	Roman Intaglio found in an Anglo-Saxon grave at Sleaford -	404
XXIII.	Antiquities found in an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Sleaford - - - facing	406

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

xi

PLATE		PAGE
XXIV.	Antiquities found in an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Sleaford facing	406
XXV.	Antiquities found in an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Sleaford facing	406
XXVI.	Silver-gilt Standing Cup of the city of Westminster - facing	527
	Sword of Scandinavian type found in London - -	530
	Hilt of Sword of Scandinavian type found in London - -	531
	Bronze Stirrup found near Romsey, Hants - -	533
XXVII.	Danish Sword-hilt found at Wallingford - - facing	534

XV.—*The Alien Priory of St. Andrew, Hamble, and its transfer to Winchester College in 1391.* By THOMAS F. KIRBY, M.A.

Read March 25, 1886.

THE priory of St. Andrew, at Hamble, near Southampton, was a cell to the Benedictine abbey of Tyrone (Tirun or Turun), in La Beauce, a district south-west of Chartres, included in the old province of Orléannois. In the *Monasticon* and Tanner's *Notitia* it is called a Cistercian abbey, but this is a mistake, and so is the statement in the *Notitia* that the priory was annexed to New College, Oxford. The priory stood on a "rise" or point of land.—"Hamele-en-le-rys" or "Hambleric" is its old name—at the confluence of the Hamble river with Southampton Water, opposite Calshot castle. Hamble gets its name from Hamele, a thane of the Saxon Meonwaris. Leland calls the place "Hamel Hooke." The priory church of St. Andrew is now the parish church. It was rebuilt by Winchester college* in the early part of the fifteenth century, and consists of chancel and nave, to which a south aisle was added five or six years ago, and a tower with three bells. There are scarcely any traces above ground of the priory buildings. Like those of the Benedictine convent of St. Swithun, at Winchester, they stood on the south and south-west of the church, so that the graveyard, as at Winchester, is on the north side of the church.

I do not know at what date the monks from Tyrone came to Hamble, or upon whose invitation, but they owed their *pied à terre* to William Giffard, bishop of Winchester, 1098—1128, who gave "to the monks of St. Andrew," a hyde of land called Hamle. The grant is not extant; but I exhibit a confirmation of it by Henry de Blois (bishop 1129—1171). This little charter is in excellent preservation (see Appendix I.) The seal is in chocolate wax, and was 3½ inches

* See *Archaeological Journal* viii. 86.

long when perfect. The counterseal is oval, $\frac{7}{8}$ inches long, no legend, subject, a gem with two heads facing each other, "like Philip and Mary on a shilling."

I have here also a certified copy of a bull of pope Innocent II. in which the pope confirms Gulielmus, abbot of Tyrone, and his successors, in the possession of divers churches which had been given to that abbey, including the church of "St. Andrew de Anglia," which, coming as it does from the drawer of Hamble documents in the Winchester college muniment room, must be taken to mean St. Andrew's Hamble.

This interesting document is written in a characteristic hand of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, and was no doubt made to be handed over to the college with the title-deeds upon the completion of the purchase of the priory. The original bull appears to have been "given at Valence by the hand of Almeric, cardinal deacon and chancellor of the Roman Church, xvij. Kal. Ap. Indict. 10^{ma} A.D. 1132 Pontif. III."

I have here also a charter of Henry II. confirming the right of the monks of Tyrone to a pension of fifteen marks per annum *ad calceamenta* (for shoe leather) which had been granted to them by a charter of Henry I. that is not extant. The charter before you is in excellent preservation, but the seal is a mere fragment. Thomas à Becket attests as chancellor, proving the date of the charter to lie between the years 1155—1162. The charter of Henry I. (1100—1135) may have been contemporaneous with the grant of bishop Giffard (1098—1128) and with the arrival of the monks in this country. We have another charter of Henry II. exempting the monks of Hamble from toll, passage, pontage, etc. throughout England and Normandy, but the seal is missing. We have also a charter of Henry, duke of Normandy, as he describes himself, granting to the monks a pension of twenty marks per annum in lieu of the above-mentioned pension of fifteen marks, and another of five marks granted by the empress Maud: but here again we have to regret the loss of the seal.

The property of this priory cannot have been large at any time. They had bishop Giffard's hyde of land, represented by the present manor of Hamble, and the tithes, services, and dues arising from it and from another hyde of land at "Brixedone," which they had under a grant from Henry de Blois, made with the consent of Christopher, the parson of Bishop's Waltham, to which church these tithes had belonged. I am sorry to say that this grant of Henry de Blois, as well as some other documents of equal interest, are not now to be found in the college muniment room.

They had also the chapel of Hound, the adjoining parish, and the chapel of

West Worldham, near Alton, which was given to them by one Richard de Annecy, temp. Henry II. as I gather from the character of the writing of the deed of gift. Early in the twelfth century they were endowed by Goce de Dinan with the church of Stanton Fitzwarren in Wilts and by Herbert Fitzherbert with half a hyde there and two parts of the tithes of his demesne. Instead of keeping the church in their own hands, and paying a vicar, the monks made the mistake of letting the parson into possession of the church, on condition of paying them an annual pension; and this is how Stanton Fitzwarren comes to be a rectory in other patronage instead of an appropriation to Winchester college. A writ of the bishop of Salisbury directing the archdeacon of Wilts to enforce payment of this pension to the monks of Hamble, bears date A.D. 1421.

Then they had an acre of building land in the new town of Southampton which they acquired in the following manner:—One Richard Leycester had given them a rent-charge of 28 pence per annum, issuing out of this acre, “*ad inveniendum vinum ad missas*.” The rent-charge got into arrear, and, there being nothing on the land to distrain, the monks entered into possession of the acre, and in 42 Hen. III. made an agreement with one Nicholas Beket respecting it. (Appendix III.)

I exhibit this agreement, as well as Leycester’s grant, as the earliest example that I am acquainted with of a building agreement. The terms of the agreement were as follows:—Beket was to be at liberty to enter on the acre and build houses and repair them without any limit of time (so that it was, in fact, a lease in perpetuity), and was to pay the 28*d.* a-year to the priory, as well as a prior charge of 20*d.* per annum to the hospital of God’s House at Southampton, which was, I believe, the original freeholder, Leycester being their grantee.

Then they had a place called Flexland, in Soberton parish, for which they paid a modus of one mark to the parson of Meonstoke, under an award of bishop Godfrey de Lucy (1189—1204). They had also the tithes of a meadow at Allington, near Bishopstoke; and a pension of 40*s.* per annum out of the rectory of that parish, which is mentioned in a taxation of the archdeacon of Winchester in 20 Edward I. as then payable to the monks of Hamble, and is now received by Winchester college, their successors in title.

The number of monks at Hamble must have been small, possibly six. I say this because they had a corrody from the monastery of St. Swithun at Winchester of 6 gowns (*pelliciae*), 6 pairs of shoes, and 6 pairs of boots (*botae*) per annum, with 21 loaves and 42 flagons (*justae*) of ale (quales in refectorio coram monachis ponuntur) weekly, which works out half a loaf and one flagon *per diem* if six was

the number, The monks of St. Swithun used to receive 20,000 oysters at mid-Lent from the prior of Hamble, as an acknowledgment of this corrody.

The delivery of so much bread and beer at Hamble must have been a difficult task for the monks of St. Swithun's, though they had the advantage of water carriage all the way from Winchester by reason of bishop Lucy having made the river Itchen navigable to Southampton. One is not surprised to find that disputes arose about the corrody in consequence. I exhibit a deed of agreement, dated April 6, 1337 (Appendix IV.), between Alexander, prior of St. Swithun's, and Richard de Bello Monte, prior of Hamble, for compromise of an action by the latter for nonpayment of the corrody. The compromise amounted to this, that during the rest of prior Richard's life the bread should continue to be delivered, but not the beer and other things.

Shortly after this adjustment of the dispute the troubles of the alien priories began; and, on the breaking out of the great war with France, king Edward III. seized their estates. Hamble suffered the same fate as all other alien priories.

The monks of St. Swithun seem to have taken advantage of the sequestration of the estates of Hamble priory to drop the payment of the corrody. At any rate, it ceased to be paid, and the wrong was not remedied until the year 1394, when bishop Wykeham decreed that it should be paid for the future.

The bishop's decree is addressed to Robert Rodebourne, prior of St. Swithun; and to Tideman de Winchcomb, abbot of Beaulieu, and Sir Bernard Brocas, the farmers of the priory under the Crown; and is dated July 24, 1394; at which date the sale to the college had been completed, as we shall see presently; but the sequestrators had not yet given up possession.

The decree is dated from the bishop's manor of Esher, and has appended to it the bishop's *secretum* in red wax. This is a circular seal, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter, nearly perfect, with the bishop kneeling to St. Swithun, with Our Lady and Child above, and SS. Peter and Paul on either side. In base are the bishop's arms, and the legend is—

Secretum willelmi de wykeham epi wyntton.

The history of this corrody has interest for us at Winchester; for, after the property of the priory became vested in Winchester college, the corrody became the endowment of Wykeham's chantry in our cathedral church.

At this time (4 Henry V.) the estimated annual value of the corrody was ten pounds.

I exhibit the duplicate grant of the corrody by warden Morys and the college to prior Nevyle and the convent of St. Swithun. (Appendix V.) The grant is

expressed to be in accordance with the intention and at the request of the late bishop, for a chantry of three monks to celebrate three masses daily in the chapel in which he is buried. Each monk is to receive one penny a day from the prior. The sacrist of St. Swithun is to find all things needful for the purpose; and alms-boys are to sing every night in the chapel, in honour of the blessed Virgin, the antiphon "Salve Regina," or "Ave Regina," and then "De Profundis," with the Prayer of the Faithful, or "Inclina;" and the prior is to assign six shillings and eight pence yearly at the Feast of the Annunciation, for the use of the boys.

The original deed of endowment should be, if still in existence, in the custody of the dean and chapter. The duplicate that I exhibit represents the acceptance of the endowment by the convent of St. Swithun. Of the conventual seal, a splendid impression in bright red wax, about two-thirds remains.

A transcript of a charter establishing the chantry with this corrody, and a pension of forty-five shillings and nine pence given by bishop Wykeham in his lifetime out of the manor of West Meon, will be found in the *Monasticon*,* "Winchester Monastery," No. XIX.

In the case of Hamble priory and, as far as I know, of all other alien priories, the "legal estate," as lawyers call it, was vested in the parent monastery abroad; and the prior and brethren here exercised powers of management only, and paid a sort of tribute to the parent monastery. One of the grounds of complaint against the alien priories was that they sent specie abroad. There were several cells to the abbey of Tyrone besides Hamble and Andwell; and the abbey kept an agent, or proctor, in this country to superintend them all.

I have here letters under the seal of abbot John and the abbey of Tyrone appointing John le Roier, abbot of St. Mary de Artisis, to be their agent or proctor in England.

The date is 28 January, 1360-1. The convent seal is much flattened, and only a fragment remains of the abbot's seal.

Raoul dit l'Ermite, prior of Andwell, was proctor-general of the abbey in 13 Edward II. and in that year concurred in a lease by prior Beaumont to one John Poussart "de tous les services corvees et coustumes," of Hamble manor.

I exhibit the lease. The seals are almost perfect, in dark green wax.

The seals are (a) that of the prior of Hamble, a pointed oval $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch long with the martyrdom of St. Andrew, with a moon and star on either side, and a praying monk in base. Legend: S' PRIORIS DE [hA]MEL[α]; (b) that of the prior of

* Ed. 1817. Vol. 1, page 215.

Andwell, a pointed oval $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch long, with figures of Our Lady and Child and St. John Baptist beneath a double canopy, with a half effigy of Our Lord above, and a praying monk under a canopy beneath. Legend: S' PRIORIS DE [HANNEDWELLE].

Here is a similar lease granted in 30 Edward III. by prior James Pasquier, who was proctor for the abbey as well as prior of Hamble. I have said that at the breaking out of the great war with France Edward III. sequestrated the property of all the alien priories, under a pledge (so it is said) that it should be restored on peace being made. The custody of the priory of Hamble with the priories of Andwell and St. Cross, two other cells of the abbey of Tyrone, was granted by letters patent on 22 January, 49 Edward III. (1376), to Thomas de Duffield. In 1371 bishop William of Wykeham had granted the custody of the priory *in spiritualibus* to William de Salariis, a monk of Tyrone, and others his fellows. It does not appear whether the brethren were actually ejected. I incline to think they were not. William de Foxle, prior 1375-1390, had property in three counties and may have been able to maintain them. There was a vacancy in the year 1390, and the abbot of Tyrone presented two clerks, John Beel and John Kent, to the bishop, and he instituted John Beel to the priory.

I exhibit the letters of presentation of John Beel, for the sake of the seals of the abbot and convent, which are in splendid preservation.

The seal of the abbot is of English workmanship. It is a pointed oval 3 inches long, with the Holy Trinity under a fine canopy. In base is a kneeling figure of the abbot under an arch, between two shields, each bearing three falcons volant. The legend is:—

: S. PETRI : [ABBATIS] SANCTE [TRINITAT] DE TYRONIO.

The convent seal is that *ad causas*, and is of earlier date than the abbot's. It is a pointed oval $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, with Our Lord sitting in majesty, under a slight canopy. Legend:

S'. GOVETVI · SCG · TRINITATIS · DE · TYRONIO · AD CTAS.

The alien priories were not finally dissolved until the Parliament of Leicester (1 Henry V.), but in the state of suspended animation to which Edward III. reduced them they can have been of no value to the abbeyes abroad, who must have been glad to get rid of them when a purchaser offered, and this is the way in which William of Wykeham acquired a good deal of the property with which he endowed his two St. Mary colleges. The prices paid may not have been high, say six or

eight years' purchase, but the costs and expenses were considerable, owing to the number of people, from the Pope's nuncio downwards, who had to be contented.

The first step was to obtain the sanction of pope Boniface IX. We have a copy only of his bull, dated iv. Non. Feb. 1391. The royal licence to prior John Beel to grant to the warden and scholars, clerks, the manor of Hamble, and the churches of Hamble Hound and West Worldham, bears date the same year. Then we have a licence to alienate by Peter, abbot of Tyrone and the convent, and a grant by prior Beel pursuant to that licence.

Then there is a letter of attorney by the prior, appointing John de Campeden, master of St. Cross; John de Keten and others, his attorneys, to deliver seisin.

Then we have a confirmation by the abbot and convent of Tyrone, in whom I have said the legal estate was vested. It is dated 1 Sep. 1391. The seals are perfect, in dark green wax; that of the abbot has been already described. The common seal is a pointed oval, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, with a rudely executed figure of the Trinity beneath a slight canopy. Legend:—

SIGILLVM : CAPITVLI : SANCTI : SALVATORIS : DE : TYRONIE.

Then we come to a letter of attorney from the warden and scholars, clerks, to receive seisin, and the title is completed with a release by Tideman de Winchcomb, abbot of Savigny, one of the sequestrators of the priory. (Appendix VI.)

This Tideman de Winchcomb was made abbot of Beaulieu, Hants, in 1393; bishop of Llandaff the same year; and in 1395 was translated to the see of Worcester. He died in 1401.

So much for the conveyancing part of the business. Now for the purchase-money and expenses. I exhibit an acquittance under the private seals of William de Siguenaux, prior of Trehonderia, and Giles, prior of Gardens, as agents of the abbot and convent of Tyrone, for a sum of 1300 francs (ecus worth about 5s. each), the price of the priories of Hamble, St. Cross, Andwell, and Titley, and the churches of Hamble Hound and West Worldham. The seals are circular, in dark green wax, $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter.

The acquittance by the abbot and convent for the purchase-money bears date three days later, 8 September, 1391.

Then we have receipts by the said William de Siguenaux and Yterius Morini, *domicellus*, for 100 francs paid them by the purchaser for their trouble in expediting the matter; and by the priors of Trehonderia and Gardens for 30 francs "pro feodo sigilli," as sealing money, and for carrying the writings to Rouen and Paris.

This last mentioned acquittance is dated 19th June, 1392, but everything else was settled before the end of September 1391. In fact, the purchase only took seven months to complete. It would not be completed more quickly now. The only difficulty was to get rid of the sequestrators or farmers of the priory. One of them, Tideman de Winchcomb, executed a release, as we have seen, with some promptitude, for it bears date 15 Sept., 1392; but the other, Sir Bernard Brocas, seems to have stood out for compensation, as we have an acquittance of his dated 17 Sept. 1394, for a pension of 10 marks, granted to him by the king out of the priory. And it would seem from Wykeham's decree quoted above, that both sequestrators were in possession at this date—24 July, 1394, nearly three years after the nominal completion of the purchase.

The following list of priors is taken from a certificate of bishop Wykeham, dated 5 Feb., 1392, for the information of the sequestrators:—

Name of prior.	Where instituted.	Date.
John de Estrepamacho	Southwark	4 Jan. 1317.
Richard de Beaulieu (<i>sic</i>)	Farnham	2 July, 1322.
James Pasquier	Farnham	10 March, 1344.
William de Monasteriis	Highclere	28 Feb. 1361.
William de Foxle	Waltham	10 Aug. 1375.
John Beel	Esher	20 Feb. 1390.

APPENDIX.

I.

Henricus dei gracia Wintoñ Episcopus, Archidiaconis, Decanis, et universo clero per Episcopatum Wintoñ constituto, salutem. Donationem quam Predecessor noster bone memorie Willelmus Giffard regis Heurici senioris assensu, et Conventus Wintoñ concessione, fecit deo et monachis de Sancto Andrea de una hida terre que vocatur Haña, sicut eorum Carte testantur, ratam habemus et presentis scripti munimine roboramus. Testibus hiis: Radulfo archidiacono Wintoñ, Roberto archidiacono Surreie, Magistro Nicholaho, Waltero clerico, Willelmo Capellano Episcopi, Cristoforo clerico, Willelmo milite nepote Episcopi.

Seal of the bishop in red wax, with effigy. Legend all broken away. Counterseal, a classical gem with two heads respectant.

II.

Henricus Rex Anglie et Dux Normannie et Aquitanie et Comes Andegavie Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justiciariis, Vicecomitibus, Ministris, et omnibus fidelibus suis totius Anglie et Normannie, salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et confirmasse deo et monachis de Tyroñ. in perpetuam elemosinam, pro salute anime mee et antecessorum et successorum meorum, quindecim marcas argenti ad calceamenta eorum, accipiendas de thesauro meo ad scaccarium meum in festo sancti Michaelis annuatim in perpetuum, sicut Rex Henricus avus meus illas eis dedit et carta sua confirmavit. Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod ipsi singulis annis illas habeant bene et in pace ad predictum terminum absque omni disturbacione. Testibus: Philippo episcopo Baioc', Ern' episcopo Lexoviensi, Toma Cancellario, Roberto de novo t, Jollano dapifero, Hugone de claers. Apud Cenomannim.

Remains of the great seal.

III.

Hec est convencio facta anno Regni Regis Henrici filii Regis Johannis xl^o quarto inter dominum priorem et monachos de Hamele ex una parte et Nicolaum Beket Suth ex altera, videlicet quod idem prior et monachi concesserunt pro se et successoribus suis dicto Nicolao liberum aditum edificandi construendi et reparandi domos in quadam acra terre eisdem priori et monachis in carta quadam Ricardi de leycestria assignata. Que quidem acra terre proxima est stagiis dicti Nicolai in Niwet' que vocantur la galee^a ex parte australi. Ita quod predictus Nicolaus et heredes sui sive sui assignati sive inhabitatores eiusdem loci plene sine fraude et dolo annum redditum viginti et octo denar' predictis priori et monachis

^a Query French Street.

ad festum sancti michaelis solvant inperpetuum. Et hospitali domus dei Suth viginti denarios annuatim. Predictus vero Nicolaus concessit pro se et heredibus suis vel suis assignatis sive pro predicti loci inhabitatoribus predictis priori et monachis et eorundem successoribus quod libere et sine aliqua contradictione possint in loco predicto et in feodo dicti Nicolai qui vocatur la galee distringere per quemcunque modum districcioni si contingat dictum redditum eisdem suo termino non solvi. In cuius rei testimonium presens scriptum per modum cirographi inter se fecerunt et sigillis suis mutuo roborari (*sic*) adiectis hiis testibus: Math Gese aldremanñ suth, henrico fiendr' eiusdem ville senescallo, Johanne Blundo et Jacobo ysembard ballivis, Johanne fortin, andrea de cruce, Radulfo parvo, Thoma de Andevare et aliis.

Seal lost.

IV.

Presens scriptum indentatum inter religiosos viros ffratrem Alexandrum priorem Ecclesie cathedralis sancti Swýthi Wyntoñ confectum ex parte una et ffratrem Richardum de Bello Monte Priorem de Hamele ex altera testatur quod cum Abbas de Tironio tulisset versus predictum Priorem Wyntoñ quandam assisam nove disseisine de quodam corrodio capiendi in domo sancti Swýthi Wyntoñ qualibet hebdomada viginti et unum panem quales in Refectorio coram ffratribus ponuntur quadraginta duas justas cervisie singulis annis pellicias sex et sex paria caligarum totidemque botarum de illis que deputantur elemosine fratrum Postea predictus Prior de Hamele attornatus predicti Abbatis in hac parte remisit predicto Priori Wyntoñ et eiusdem loci conventui omnimodam accionem exigendi predictas cervisiam pellicias caligas et botas pro toto tempore suo. Et pro hac remissione predictus Prior Wyntoñ concessit quod predictus Prior de Hamele et monachi ibidem deo servientes pacifice percipient et habebunt predictos panes qualibet septimana toto tempore predicti Prioris de Hamele sine contradiccione aliquali. In cuius rei testimonium uni parti presentis scripti indentati penes predictum Priorem de Hamele remanenti predictus Prior Wyntoñ sigillum suum apposuit. Alteri vero parti penes predictum Priorem Wyntoñ residenti predictus prior de Hamele sigillum suum apposuit. Datum Wyntoñ sexto die mensis Aprilis Anno domini m° ccc^{mo} tricesimo septimo, Anno vero regni regis Edwardi tercii a conquestu undecimo.

Small oval seal in green wax, 1, $\frac{3}{8}$ by 1 inch. Subject: within a sexfoil, in chief five billets, 2 and 3; on a band in fess the bust of a bishop or mitred prior between a key and sword; in base, two lions rampant. The fields are variously diapered. Legend: S'ALEXANDRI · PRIORIS · WINTONIE SECUR'TVM.

V.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus presens scriptum indentatum visuris vel audituris Johannes morys custos collegij beate marie prope civitatem Wyntoñ seynte marie college of Wyntchestre vulgariter nuncupati et eisdem collegij socij et scolares salutem in domino sempiternam. Cum quoddam corrodium sive prestacio annua subscripta a domo Prioratus sancti Swithuni Wyntoñ Prioratui de hamele in the Rys in Comitatu Suth et eiusdem loci monachis debita videlicet unaquaque ebdomada viginti unus panes conventuales quadraginta

due juste cervisie quales in Refectoris coram monachis dicti prioratus sancti Swithuni confratribus ibidem ponuntur necnon singulis annis sex pellicie meliores de illis que deputantur elemosine fratrum sex paria caligarum necnon sex paria botarum quorum omnium valor annuus ad decem libras et amplius se extendit Postmodum in et ad nos custodem socios et scolares nostrumque collegium auctoritate apostolica et regia legitime et effectaliter fuerit et sit translat' Noveritis nos prefatos custodem socios et scolares collegij antedicti obtentu et contemplacione Reverendi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Willelmi de Wykeham dei gracia Wyntoniensis Episcopi fundatoris nostri ac ad requisitionem eiusdem necnon pro quadam cantaria trium monachorum tres missas pro reverendo patre et fundatore antedicto et eius benefactoribus in capella in qua cum in fata decesserit disposuit tumulari cotidie celebrare debencium quorum quilibet a priore sancti Swithuni qui pro tempore fuerit singulis diebus unum denarium bone et usualis monete percipiet quibus eciam Sacrista ecclesie supradicte inveniet omnia officio misse necessaria pro quo eciam reverendo patre pueri elemosinarie de elemosina dicti Prioratus viventes qualibet nocte perpetuis futuris temporibus ad capellam predictam cantabunt in honorem beate virginis antiphonam Salve Regina vel Ave Regina et consequenter dicent psalmum De Profundis cum oratione fidelium vel Inclina ad quorum opus et utilitatem sepedictus Prior pro tempore existens solvet annuatim Elemosinario dicti Prioratus sex solidos octo denarios in festo annunciationis beate marie imperpetuum in dicto prioratu per priorem et eiusdem loci confratres unanimiter fundata ordinata pariter et concessa, prout in tenore ordinacionis dicte cantarie plenius apparet unanimo consensu et assensu remisisse relevasse et omnino pro nobis et successoribus nostris imperpetuum quietum clamasse venerabili viro Thome Nevyle Priori dicti Prioratus sancti Swithuni et eiusdem loci Conventui eorumque successoribus totum ius et clameum que habemus habuimus vel aliquo modo in futurum habere poterimus in predicto corrodio seu prestacione annua. Ita quod nec nos nec successores nostri aliquod ius vel clameum in eodem corrodio sive prestacione annua versus eosdem Priorem et conventum aut eorum successores exigere vel vindicare poterimus infuturum sed inde per presentes imperpetuum sumus inclusi. Et nos vero predictus Thomas Nevyle prior ecclesie cathedralis Wyntoñ et eiusdem loci conventus unanimi assensu et consensu remisimus relaxavimus et omnino pro nobis et successoribus nostris quietum clamavimus prefatis Johanni Morys custodi collegij predicti et eiusdem loci socijs et scolaribus imperpetuum omnimoda acciones clamea et demandas que habemus habuimus seu quovismodo habere poterimus infuturum versus prefatos custodem socios et scolares seu eorum successores racione Prioratus de Hamele in the Rys predicti seu alicuius parcelle eiusdem in manibus predictorum custodis sociorum et scolarium seu successores suorum existentis necnon omnimoda proficua occupaciones et clamea que in eodem Prioratu de hamele in the Rys habere poterimus vel clamavimus pro corrodio predicto. Ita quod nec nos nec successores nostri aliquod ius vel clameum versus eosdem custodem socios et scolares aut eorum successores exigere vel vindicare poterimus infuturum racione corrodiij supradicti sed inde per presentes simus exclusi imperpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium uni parti huius scripti indentati penes predictos custodem socios et scolares remanenti prefati Prior sancti Swithuni et eiusdem loci conventus sigillum suum commune apposuerunt alteri vero parti penes prefatos Priorem et conventum remanenti

predicti custos socij et scolares sigillum suum eciam commune apposuerunt. Datum vicesimo primo die mensis augusti anno regni regis henrici quarti post conquestum Anglie quinto.

Endorsed :

Memorandum quod carta antiqua de corrodio infrascripto liberata fuit Priori et conventui infrascript' die et anno infrascript' in presencia magistri Johannis de Campeden de mandato domini nostri fundatoris et consensu omnium sociorum collegij.

The seal and counterseal of the priory of St. Swithun is appended, in bright red wax, but only one-half the impression remains. The following description has been supplied from other and more complete examples:

Seal—Subject: St. Swithun sitting under a fine canopy with sitting figures at the sides of SS. Peter and Paul, also under canopies. Legend: ✚ S' · COMMVNĒ : CATHEDRALIS : ECCLE APL'OR' : PET : ET PAVLI ET SUI SWITHI WINTON.

Counterseal—Subject: A sitting figure of a king between the erect figures of a bishop and mitred prior, all under fine canopies. At the sides two lions of England and under an arch in base four praying monks with the *manus Dei* issuing from a cloud above them. Legend: ✚ FACTVM ANNO : GRĒ : M : CC : NONAGES' : III^o : ET : ANNO : REGNI REGIS : EDWARDI XX^o II^o.

Examples of *dated* seals are very rare.

VI.

[Omnibus Christi f]delibus hoc presens scriptum visuris vel audituris Tydemannus de Wynhecombe monachus ordinis Cisterciensis salutem in domino. Noveritis me concessisse et [confirma]sse ffratri Johanni Beel monacho ordinis sancti Benedicti Priori de hamele in the Rys Wyntoñ dioc'. totum statum meum jus et clameum et quicquid [juris] vel tituli habeo vel aliquo modo habere potero in firma seu custodia Prioratus predicti et in omibus terris et tenementis redditibus et servicijs ad predictum prioratum qualitercumque spectantibus cum omnibus suis juribus et pertinentijs universis. Ita vero quod nec ego Tydemannus predictus nec aliquis alius nomine meo aliquid iuris tituli vel clamei in predicto Prioratu cum pertinentiis nec in aliqua parcella eiusdem de cetero habere exigere vel vendicare poterimus set imperpetuum inde simus exclusi per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium huic scripto sigillum meum apposui. Datum quartodecimo die Septembris anno Regni Regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum quintodecimo.

Fine seal of English work,* in red wax, a pointed oval 2½ inches long. Subject: Our Lady, nimbed and with a sceptre in her left hand, holding the Divine Child on her right arm, beneath a canopy with panelled buttresses. In base, under an arch set in masonry, is a kneeling figure of the abbot. Legend: S' FRIS : TYDEMANNI DEI GRA : ABBTIS [DE S]AVIRIACO :

* See *Proceedings*, 2nd S. ix. 46.

XVI.—*Further Notes upon Excavations at Silchester.* By F. G. HILTON PRICE, F.S.A.

Read February 11, 1886.

SOME years have now elapsed since any paper has been read before this Society upon Silchester, which is without doubt the most interesting Roman city in this country. Comparatively speaking, very little has been done there since the death of the Rev. James Gerald Joyce, F.S.A., the rector of Stratfieldsaye, whose elaborate and valuable papers upon Silchester, amply illustrated with plans and drawings, published in vols. xl. and xlvi. of *Archaeologia*, are well known to you all. Had it not been for him we should probably have remained in ignorance of the existence of the city, as it was he who inspired the late Duke of Wellington with such a keen interest in the place that he authorised excavations to be undertaken.

Between the dates of Mr. Joyce reading his last paper here in June, 1873, and his lamented death in June, 1878, several excavations have been carried out, but have not been described. The Rev. H. G. Monro, the present rector of Stratfieldsaye, being naturally very much interested in the work, carried on the supervision for the Duke of Wellington, and completed some excavations that had been commenced by Mr. Joyce, notably of the baths, and the block of buildings to the west of them, which he called the "cavalry barracks," and some others that have since been covered up.

Shortly after this I visited Silchester, and was very much struck by the magnificent remains then recently excavated near the south gate. Ascertaining that no plans had been made of them, permission was obtained from the late Duke of Wellington to draw them; accordingly in the autumn of 1881 Mr. Henry Hodge was instructed by me to make the necessary and accurate plans and drawings, which are shown in the accompanying plates; they appear to reveal the foundations of an important series of baths, which shall be presently described.

In 1884 Mr. Hodge again visited the city and recorded the more recent discoveries which will be also explained.

A short distance south of the Forum, upon the *via principalis*, Mr. Monro subsequently made another excavation of considerable interest, but, finding the distance from Stratfieldsaye too great to be constantly in attendance to watch the old men at the excavations, at his suggestion the late Duke of Wellington asked the Rev. Thomas Langshaw, M.A., rector of Silchester, a careful archaeologist, to supervise the work for him, which he has since done with much zeal, and has completed the clearing out of the foundations of this building, which will be described under the head of Block VII.

Mr. Langshaw then excavated portions of a building near the temple, which exhibited very curious construction: a plan was made, but it is incomplete, as the excavation was stopped, and all filled in before it was finished; it will therefore be as well to delay the description of it until such a time as the ground can be again removed.

These plans have been lying for many months to await a favourable opportunity of bringing them before this Society, with a view not only of placing upon record the new excavations, but of endeavouring to revive the dormant interest for the grand old city of Calleva Atrebatum.

Early in the year 1884, the late Mr. James Fergusson, Mr. W. H. Hall, of Six Mile Bottom, and myself, all greatly interested in the welfare of the old city, conferred together as to what had better be done for its preservation, and we decided that we should first of all see the late Duke of Wellington, and ascertain his grace's views, and to what extent he would be willing to go. We accordingly went to see him, which appeared to revive his former interest in the place, as he granted me permission to have further plans made, and undertook to employ some extra labour to supplement the two old men who, as he said, scrape the ground, and who were the remains of four, the other two having become effete; he further said he wished Mr. Langshaw, who lived upon the site, to conduct all the excavations, and if we could undertake to supervise him and assist him when necessary with a few hints he would be obliged. This was agreed to, and the next day his grace called upon Mr. Langshaw, and told him of our conversation, brought him copies of Mr. Joyce's journals made by Mr. Monro, and beautifully illustrated by Miss Monro, and promised that he should have a cabinet of coins to show to the visitors who came to see the remains; this was all carried out and things looked favourable for the future, when his lamented death put a stop to all further work.

Application has since been made to the present Duke to have these favours continued, but he hesitates to sanction any further excavations at present.

We proposed that, with permission of the tenant who leases the land, exca-

vations should be made in certain spots upon the sides of the roads or elsewhere, paying him compensation for the land so taken out of cultivation, then to map and describe the building or buildings uncovered; should it prove to be of insufficient importance to retain open, to fill it up and excavate another, and so on, until the whole or greater part of the city should be placed upon the Ordnance map, which Mr. Hodge has enlarged seven times for the purpose, and which would become a permanent record of the work done. This plan, which is now exhibited, has all the excavations up to date marked upon it of sufficiently large a scale to enable you to see every chamber in the various buildings distinctly.* It is reproduced by photo-lithography on Plate XV.

In addition to the excavations made since Mr. Joyce's death, of which plans are now before you, a large block of buildings was discovered close to the south gate by Mr. Joyce himself, which he called "cavalry barracks," and which have long since been covered up. They have never been described, but Mr. Langshaw has kindly favoured me with a plan of the eastern portion, which he made before the excavation was filled in, and which is now placed upon the large map.

Before describing to you the recent excavations, it will be useful to give a short account of the site.

Calleva Atrebatum was the Roman name of Silchester, which the Britons called "*Caer Segonte*;" the present walls are of great strength, and probably occupy the site of the ancient British earthworks. In some places, more especially near the south gate, the wall is about 21 feet in height, and in others from 10 feet to 15 feet high, and about the same in thickness; the masonry is composed of rough flints, blocks of greensand, and oolite, bound together with mortar; and at intervals of about 2 feet 6 inches bonding courses of stone occur, and in some places these stones are laid in herring-bone pattern. The wall is supported with buttresses from the inside, and was surrounded by a wide and deep fosse, which may have been at times filled with water. Trees of great growth root themselves into the top and sides of the wall and adjacent *débris*, forming a continuous and sombre, forestal-like belt, completely enclosing the dormant city. The total circumference of the walls is nearly one mile and a half, and the area within comprises 100 acres.

There were five entrances, or gates; four being on the north, south, east,

* The Ordnance map of 25 inches, 344 parts, to a mile, enlarged seven times, gives 14 feet 9 inches to a mile. For rough measurements with an inch rule, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches slack = 100 feet, and 1 inch = 29 feet 4 inches.

and west sides of the city, which were the exits on the principal roads, and a fifth a little to the north of the east gate, apparently leading to the amphitheatre. The road from the north to the south gate is 2410 feet in length, leading on the south to *Venta Belgarum* (Winchester) and to *Sarum*. The road from *Londinium* and *Pontes* (Staines) entered the city on the east side, leading out at the west gate to *Aquae Solis* (Bath), and to *Corinium* (Cirencester) by *Spinae* (Speen near Newbury).

The east gate was 28 feet 6 inches wide in the clear, and set in a curtain recessed back from the main wall, the rounded inward sweep forming two flanking towers; and connected with these were two guard-rooms on each side. These important discoveries were made during Mr. Joyce's investigation. The small gate, likewise on the east side, leading to the amphitheatre, was called by him the *Porta Orientalis Circensis*. The south gate is, however, the most perfect; it is 22 feet 6 inches wide at the entrance, and the passage is 28 feet in length. Two roads converged to enter here; the one from *Sarum* and the other from Winchester.

Outside the walls, on the north and south, are some considerable intrenchments, probably of British date.

A modern road traverses the area. It enters the city at the farm a little to the south of the east gate, and leads out a little to the north of the west gate, dividing it into two unequal parts.

There were several minor streets, leading off from the principal ones, which can be easily traced in dry seasons, when the corn is ripe.

The first excavation, that of the villa of 1833, was made in the south-eastern corner, not far from the wall mentioned in *Archaeologia*.^a

The sites of all subsequent excavations Mr. Joyce described under the term "blocks," which designation should be adhered to.

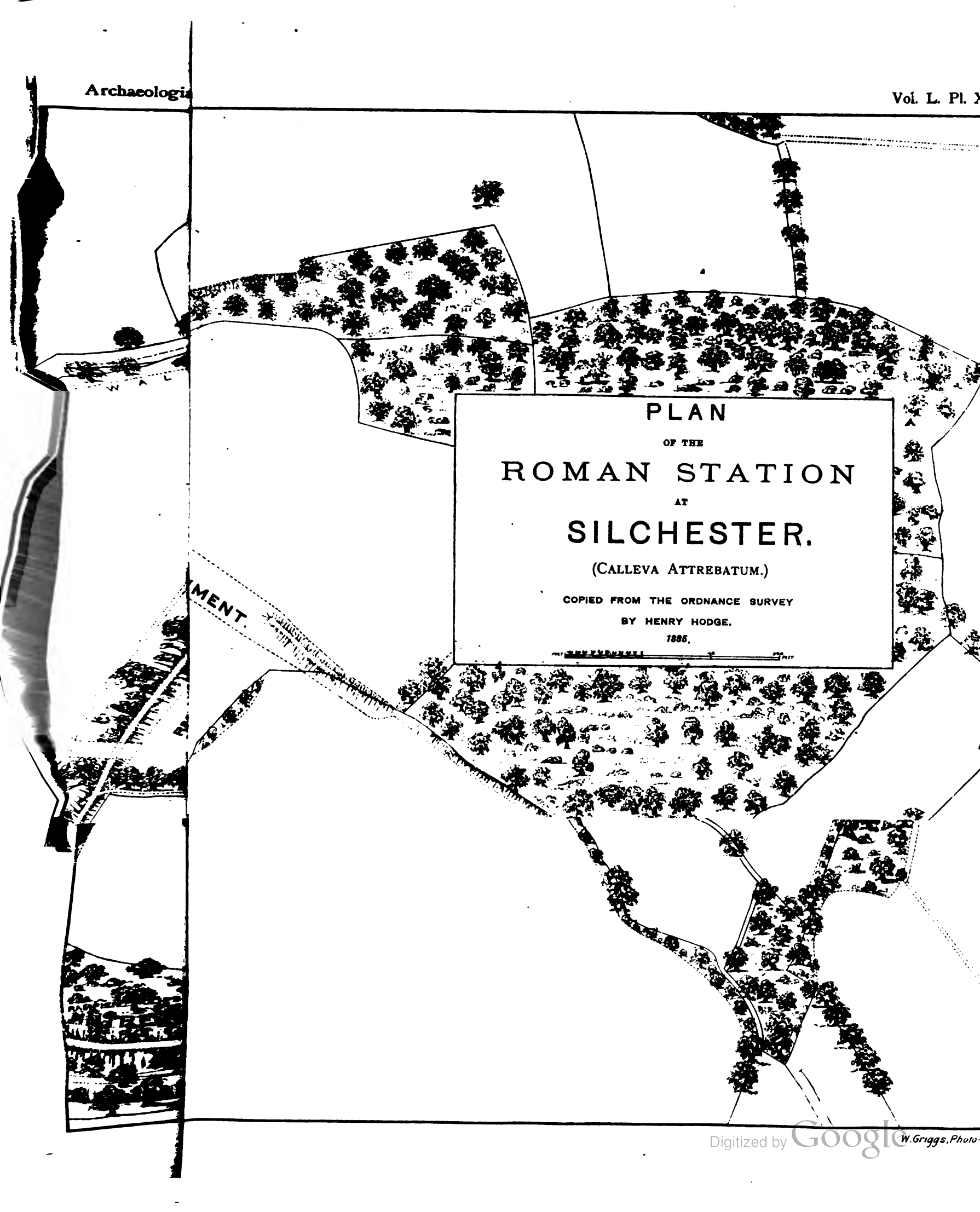
Block I. was at the angle of two minor streets on the north-east side of the city; it consisted of a house, with a corridor 60 feet long by 9 feet wide, and seven chambers, paved for the most part with *tesserae*.^b

Block II., a much more important excavation, was on the east of the *via principalis*, at an angle of the road. It is about 355 feet north of the Forum; and contained upwards of forty-five rooms, one having a good tessellated floor—which was removed to Stratfieldsaye, where it is now laid down—and some unusual forms of hypocausts.

Block III. was another house, on the east side of the main street, upon the

^a Vol. xi. page 404.

^b *Ibid.*



opposite corner to Block II. in the street running at right angles east and west : it was a most interesting building. A full account of it will be found in *Archaeologia*, vol. XL.

Block IV. was a smaller excavation, on the west side of the main road, north and south, and quite insignificant.*

Block V. This is the most interesting feature in the whole work. Here, in nearly the centre of the area, we have a forum and basilica; the forum is of the Greek type, nearly square, surrounded upon its three exterior sides by a double ambulatory, the fourth side being occupied by the walls of the basilica. The forum represents a rectangle; the longer side, east and west, measures 313 feet, and the shorter side, north and south, measures 276 feet. The ambulatories were probably covered by roofs. There were three entrances from outside; that on the south was on the forum side; the north entrance was common to both forum and basilica; the principal entry was on the east. The quadrangle, or market-place, in the centre, is 131 feet by 144 feet. There were seventeen rooms or shops round the forum, which have been described by Mr. Joyce in *Archaeologia*, vol. XLVI. The basilica on the west side of this block is 60 feet wide by 268 feet long; at each end it terminates in an apse. Many objects of interest were discovered here, notably that unique specimen of a Roman eagle in bronze,^b found in what was supposed to be the *aerarium* or treasury, the most southern chamber. Another eagle, of steel, also found in Silchester, was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries by the Bishop of Carlisle in 1788.^c

Block VI. was at the angle of a road east of the forum, of which we know little.

Block VII. was south of the forum, upon the side of the street, leading southwards; upon the opposite side of which was another excavation, undescribed.

South of this, again, was a temple, which the late Mr. James Fergusson considered to have been a *serapeum*, it being of polygonal structure, having sixteen sides to both the inner and the outer lines of wall, with an ambulatory round it. In all probability this was an open building, as no remains of roofing slabs have been discovered. The quoins or angles of these walls are built with stone, the remainder of flints. The extreme diameter is 64 feet 6 inches, and the inside area 35 feet 2 inches in diameter; the thickness of the walls 2 feet 8 inches. The ambulatory is 9 feet 4 inches wide. The height of the walling visible is about 2 feet.

* See *Archaeologia*, vol. XLVI. Plate xvii.

^b *Ibid.* vol. XLVI

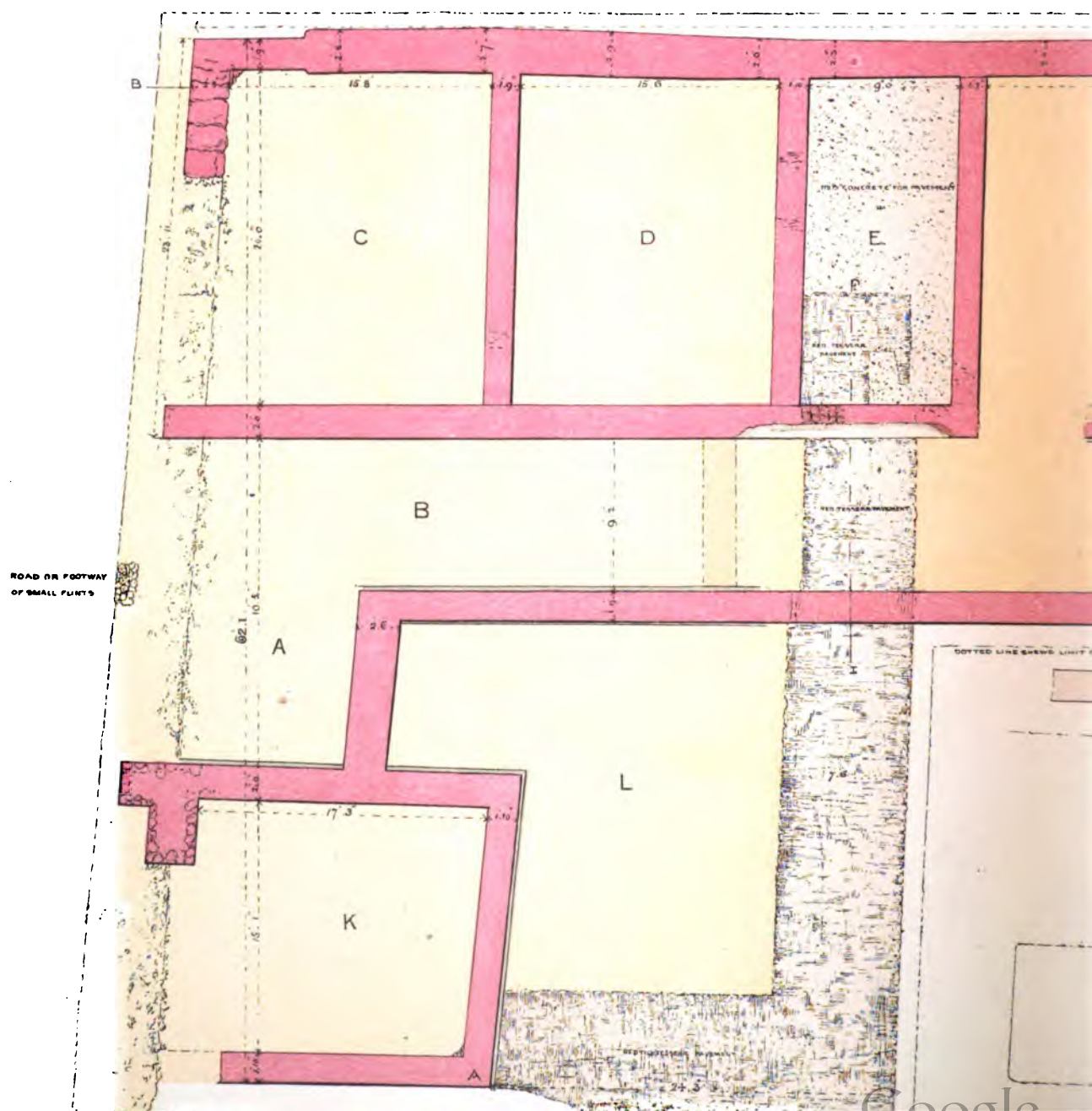
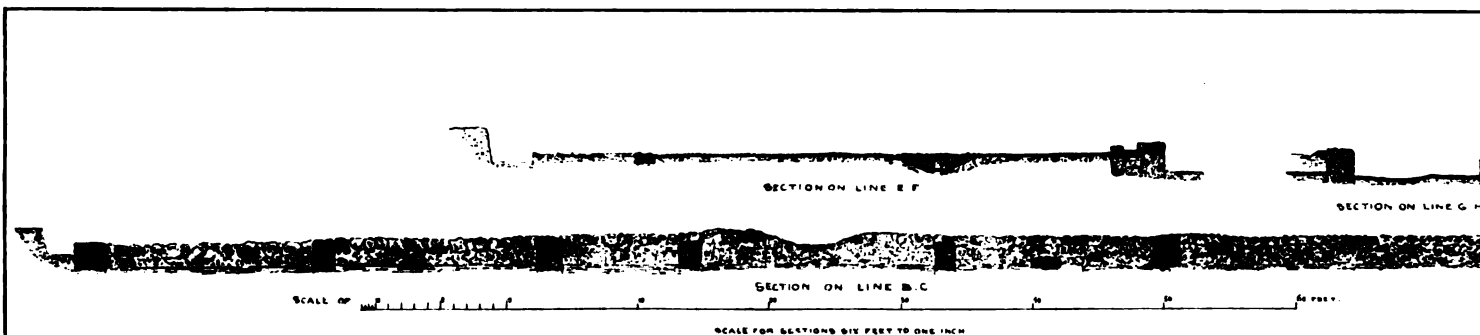
^c *Ibid.* vol. IX. p. 370.

There is no trace of columns, altar, statue, or inscription, or any other indication of the god or goddess to whom it was dedicated; but, taking into consideration its circular form, it may be open to supposition that the goddess Vesta might have been worshipped there, and that the adjacent building was the house of the Vestals. It may have contained sixteen figures of divinities at the various angles.

The excavation of Block VII. was commenced by the Rev. H. G. Monro and completed by the Rev. T. Langshaw, rector of Silchester. It is situated 228 feet 6 inches south of the Forum, and has a frontage of 62 feet 1 inch upon the east side of the *via principalis*, which traverses the city from the north to the south gate. This building is 111 feet 3 inches long from east to west, with a width of 35 feet. The additional excavation on the south, which can hardly be considered to belong to this building, marked L on the plan (Plate XVI.), is 28 feet by 23 feet, and the corridor on the north side, marked M on the plan, is 52 feet by 14 feet.

There are eight principal chambers and a corridor running eastwards to the large room at the end. It is probable that one of those marked G H may have been two separate rooms, as there is evidence of the footing of a wall that crossed it; but whether this was so divided when the house was demolished one can hardly say, but in all likelihood it was the wall of the previous building, or of the same one having been altered, of which we have other evidence. For matters of convenience, we have given letters to the chambers, by which we shall subsequently describe them.

A. This appears to be the chief entrance to the building from the street, opening on the west, the pavement of which is about two feet below the present surface of the ground. The exterior wall is here wholly absent, with but slight indications of the footings. This vestibule, if so we may term it, is 19 feet 5 inches in width, with frontage on the street; at the southern end of this it extends eastwards to a wall, about 10 feet from the line of the street; this wall is 11 feet in length north-east and south-west, and, unlike the other walls of this building, it slopes at a considerable angle. The northern end of this vestibule opens out into a long corridor, B, 84 feet long, which extends to the large room marked I on the plan. This corridor varies in width from 9 feet 2 inches to 9 feet 4 inches. Near the pavement of red *tesserae* which crosses this corridor is a slight indication of a cross-wall, or the footing of one. On the west end of this corridor the ground appears to have been more disturbed or removed. The south wall is here 2 feet 3 inches high, with three courses of flints on both sides, and concrete below; the lowest course and concrete being set out to 2 feet 3 inches, while the upper courses are only 1 foot 9 inches thick.





C. This chamber, which may probably have been a shop opening on the street, is 20 feet wide north and south by 15 feet 8 inches east and west, inside measurements. At the north-west angle there is 8 feet 6 inches of wall remaining, 2 feet 3 inches in breadth, by about 2 feet in height. The remaining portion of the wall facing the street is gone, only the footing remaining. The north wall of this chamber varies in width from 1 foot 9 inches on the west, to 2 feet 8 inches in the middle, and 2 feet 7 inches on the east. The eastern wall is internal, and is therefore only 1 foot 9 inches in width; the south wall is 2 feet in thickness. There is no trace of any pavement in this chamber. There are some massive stones in the wall at the north-west angle, and also where the wall is thinner, *i.e.* where it is only 1 foot 9 inches, breaking out to 2 feet 8 inches. Many of the stones in other places are exceptionally large, and are mostly of a ferruginous conglomerate, or pudding-stone, roughly axed or hammer-dressed and shaped, laid in mortar or concrete.

D. This chamber is nearly of the same dimensions as the last described, being 20 feet by 15 feet 6 inches, the width of the exterior wall on the north varies in thickness from 2 feet 9 inches to 2 feet 6 inches, and is carefully constructed of large blocks of a coarse conglomerate set in concrete; the party wall between this and the next chamber eastwards is 1 foot 10 inches in width, and is composed of three courses of flint; there is no pavement.

E. is 20 feet in length by 9 feet in width; it is paved for the most part with a salmon-coloured concrete, with a well-finished surface of broken tiles. At the south-west corner of this chamber is a red tessellated pavement, 6 feet by $6\frac{3}{4}$ feet, nearly perfect, composed of 1-inch cubes of pottery *tesserae*; this runs beneath the wall on the south, crosses the corridor B, and passes beneath the south wall of the same and onwards for a considerable distance southwards to be hereafter described (under L). The walls of this room are 2 feet 3 inches thick on the north, 2 feet on the south, (partly destroyed), 1 foot 10 inches on the west, and 1 foot 7 inches on the east; the height varies from 4 feet to 2 foot 3 inches.

F. This is a chamber of larger dimensions, being 20 feet by 17 feet 8 inches, with an opening into the corridor B, on the south-west corner, 6 feet wide; there is no trace of any pavement; the north wall is 2 feet thick, the south wall 2 feet, (partly destroyed), and the east and west walls are only 1 foot 7 inches. In this room there is a depression 1 foot deep, and the stones following the subsidence lay in a confused position. There are however several other depressions and gaps throughout the walls generally from various causes.

G. is a narrow chamber, 20 feet by 7 feet 9 inches. The wall on the east is 2 feet in width, composed of rubble and pebbles, and is merely a footing. It is possible that this chamber included H as well, and that at some remote period it was altered, and the dividing-wall removed, and that previously this wall was a portion of the large block of masonry to be seen outside the wall of this chamber on the north, running in a northerly direction, thus shewing an alteration in the ground-plan during the later Roman occupation of the building. The other walls are of the same dimensions.

H. This chamber is 20 feet by 6 feet 6 inches, with a 2 feet wall on all sides; it probably formed one room with G.

I. This is a large chamber approached from the corridor B; its dimensions are 31 feet 1 inch by 24 feet 1 inch, with an opening at the east end of the corridor 9 feet 4 inches in width. There is a slight indication of a division having obtained north and south in this chamber. The walls are solid and well constructed, but irregular, as in some places the stones are laid very uniformly, whilst in others they are quite at random; the characteristic herringbone method has been adopted, and is very observable in the lowest course of the three walls, and it may be also seen elsewhere. At the south-east angle a layer of one-inch red *tesserae* was found beneath the wall, indicating previous occupation; the wall on the north and east is 2 feet 1 inch in width and 1 foot 11 inches on the south. Outside the east wall of this chamber is another wall running parallel with it, which no doubt belongs to some other building, or perhaps it is a boundary. The walls on the south side of the corridor are composed of flints.

K. This chamber was probably a shop, with a frontage to the street, 15 feet 1 inch by 17 feet 3 inches, with a massive pier of masonry on the north-west angle. Part of the wall slightly projects over the roadway. The wall is wanting on the west side, south of the pier, and also a few feet of it on the south-west. The width of the wall on the north is 2 feet; that of the south and east walls is 1 foot 10 inches.

L. This appears to have been only an open court-yard of irregular shape bounded on the east and south by a one-inch red *tesserae* pavement 7 feet 6 inches wide on the east and 29 feet in length, and 24 feet 3 inches in length east and west on the south. On the southern edge of this the *tesserae* appear to have been intentionally rounded off, so as to form a gutter. There is a portion of another corridor extending from it on the south. These paved ways appear to have been used either for passages between houses or they are the

remains of a long paved corridor of some earlier building. The corridor or passage on the north, marked M on the plan, evidently belongs to or connects some house or alley on the north with the building already described. It is composed of one-inch red *tesserae*, the pavement is 35 feet long by 8 feet broad, the wall on the east side of it is 1 foot 5 inches broad and returns. This pavement is in a fair state of preservation, but it is undulating, and in one place there is a circular depression about 7 feet in diameter and 1 foot deep, partially filled with a mass of red concrete. The paving follows the depression evenly and free from disturbance, almost as though the sinking was intentional and so constructed. It is, however, contrary to reason that a basin should have been made in a passage, therefore one would almost suppose that before this corridor was paved a well had been sunk here, and that it had subsequently slightly subsided; or, it might even have been caused by the agency of the earth-worms, continually at work bringing up fine earth from beneath the floor and casting it on the surface, which would cause the level of the *tesserae* to subside in the centre. Darwin^a instances several cases of similar subsidence at Silchester, the observations having been carefully carried out by his sons and the late Mr. Joyce. On page 214 he gives a figure of a section of a floor measuring north and south 7 feet 9 inches wide; the *tesserae* were laid up to a wall on either side; the surface of the field sloped from north to south at an angle of $3^{\circ} 40'$. The pavement, which was nearly level along lines parallel to the side-walls, had sunk in the middle as much as $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches; from such a fact as this and others accurately made by this great observer, we may therefore readily imagine the subsidence in this instance to have been caused by the earth-worms.

Block VIII. (Plate XV.) was a building with three sides, and with an open quadrangle; it is situated a little to the east of the south gate, and is connected by a wall with the south wall of the baths, which I shall presently describe as Block IX. The buildings of Block VIII. were of considerable extent; their excavation was commenced in 1875 by the late Mr. Joyce, who called them "cavalry barracks," because part of the building was paved with very rough, and great heavy flints, such as might have been required for stables. The greater portion of it was covered in about 1880, and has never been described. I am greatly indebted to Mr. Langshaw for kindly furnishing me with measurements and materials of the most southern portion. This he styles "Building B," and considers it to be separate from the northern part, which he calls "Building A." The plan

^a *Vegetable mould and earthworms.*

of B, appears to consist of fourteen chambers, with an entrance on the north-east corner. Its length is about 128 feet by 40 feet at the entrance, and 35 feet in the other part. The outside wall on the south was about 2 feet in thickness; that on the east side was 3 feet 3 inches, composed of flints. The measurements of the various chambers are as follows: A, the large one on the south-east, 24 feet by 18 feet; B, 7 feet by 18 feet; C, 11 feet by 18 feet; D and E, 7 feet by 9 feet each; F, 17 feet by 18 feet; G, 13 feet by 18 feet; H, 19 feet by 18 feet; I and J, 7 feet by 13 feet each; K, 24 feet by 11 feet; L and M no doubt were the porters' lodges, and measure 9 feet by 3 feet 6 inches each; N, the doorway, is 6 feet in width; the corridor, O, is 70 feet by 11 feet. In the latter chamber an abundance of oyster shells was discovered. Should excavations be ever sanctioned again, it would be of extreme interest to re-open this block, and have the remaining portion placed upon the large plan. Mr. Langshaw tells me there were other buildings to the north of it; attached to one was a fine hypocaust.

The space between this last described building and the baths, apparently, was a garden, or open court-yard, as nothing was found there when excavations were made. It is about 170 feet in length by from 60 to 80 feet in width.

The court and buildings seem to have been enclosed by a boundary wall, running from the north end of the Baths, and turning with a rounded corner away to the west.

Block IX.—The Baths. This excavation was commenced by the late Mr. Joyce and completed by the Rev. H. G. Monro: they are probably the baths which were first discovered in 1833, and then covered in, as the following accounts tend to prove. A short account of the 1833 Baths, by the Rev. John Coles, appeared in *Archaeologia*.^a

There is another account in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for Feb. 1833, by Mr. Kempe, giving an interesting description of these baths.^b

A careful investigation has been made respecting the site of the baths which

^a Vol. xxvii. p. 418.

^b "Some labourers employed in cutting a drain in the nine-acre field, within the walls of Silchester, and about 200 yards to the south-westward of the church, struck upon some foundations of Roman buildings. The Rev. John Coles being informed of the circumstance, obtained permission of Mr. Burton the farmer to prosecute the discovery, which he liberally did at his own expense.

In a short time the foundations of a large building, upwards of 80 feet in length, probably the

were exposed in 1833 by Mr. Coles, in consequence of a doubt as to the accuracy of records made about that time by Mr. Kempe and Mr. MacLaughlan in reference to the site of that building.*

The similarity between the 1833 remains and those now illustrated led to the belief they were identical.

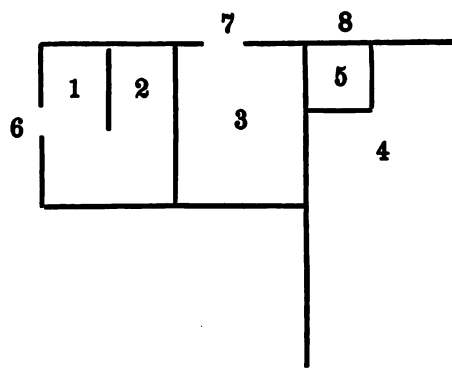
It appears that the Rev. J. Coles, in 1833, excavated a portion of the baths, of which he prepared a plan. This was lithographed at the time, but a copy of it cannot now be discovered. Under the pressure of the farmer the remains and excavations were abruptly filled in.

The Rev. H. G. Monro again excavated and completed the investigation

Thermae or public hot-baths of the city, were revealed. The annexed lines will show the general disposition of the rooms of this edifice.

Nos. 1, 2, 3, were apartments, the dimensions of which I derive from a neat lithographic plan presented to me by Mr. Coles, and from the information of John Bruce, Esq. F.S.A. No. 1, 11 feet 8 inches by 25 feet. No. 2, 12 feet 9 inches by 25 feet. No. 3, 19 feet by 25 feet. These were hypocausts, or sudatory apartments, the floors of which stood upon numerous round and square pillars of Roman brick, each about 3 feet 4 inches in height. The walls were 3 feet thick. The easternmost chamber is No. 1; the floor of this room had been supported by seven ranges of pillars, seven in a row; the three first rows from the east were circular, the remainder square. The diameter of the pillars 9 inches; they stood on a plinth formed of a single tile of larger dimensions. The apertures 6 and 7 afforded a brisk draught to the praefurnium or furnace, and heat was thus diffused all over the floor of the sweating rooms, and to the general volume of air by flue-tiles placed as pipes, perforated with holes, in ranges against the walls. The floor was composed of large square tiles, on which, in a bed of cement, was probably laid a tessellated pavement. 5 was undoubtedly the natatio or water-bath; here, at figure 8, was a leaden pipe inserted in a tile, having a triangular aperture, through which the element was supplied. 4 was probably the apodyterium or frigidarium, the anti-room, where the bathers undressed, as 3 was the media cella, or tepidarium, where they were shampooed (to adopt a term in modern use) by the strigils of the *aliptae* or *unctores*. The anti-room was paved with large square tiles, surrounded by a border of tesserae, each an inch square. A quantity of fractured window glass, full of air bubbles, and having a coarse surface, somewhat resembling the graining of wood, was found on the spot. Such a substance must have been peculiarly necessary in the sudatories, as light would be transmitted, while the cold external air was excluded."—*Gent. Mag.* ciii. 124, 125.

* Mr. A. J. Kempe's Map, etc. *Archaeologia*, vol. xxvii. p. 419, Plate xxxii. Appendix. Mr. MacLaughlan, *Archaeological Journal*, vol. viii.



which had previously been so very imperfectly performed, although that which had been done appears to have been carefully recorded and described at the time.

In a communication to *The Reading Mercury*, Feb. 11, 1833, the Rev. John Coles announced his discovery, and in the same journal, Feb. 18, 1833, a correspondent (S. H.) furnishes a descriptive article upon Silchester. The following extracts are important :

“To the indefatigable ardour of the Rev. Mr. Coles, the respected rector of the parish, aided by the exertions of another neighbouring clergyman, we are indebted for some recent curious discoveries. Within and as near as may be to the south-east part of the octagonal wall, which is distant less than a quarter of a mile from the Amphitheatre, excavations have been made, which lay open the base of structures, calculated to form matter of pleasing investigation for the antiquary, and which present the following appearances :—

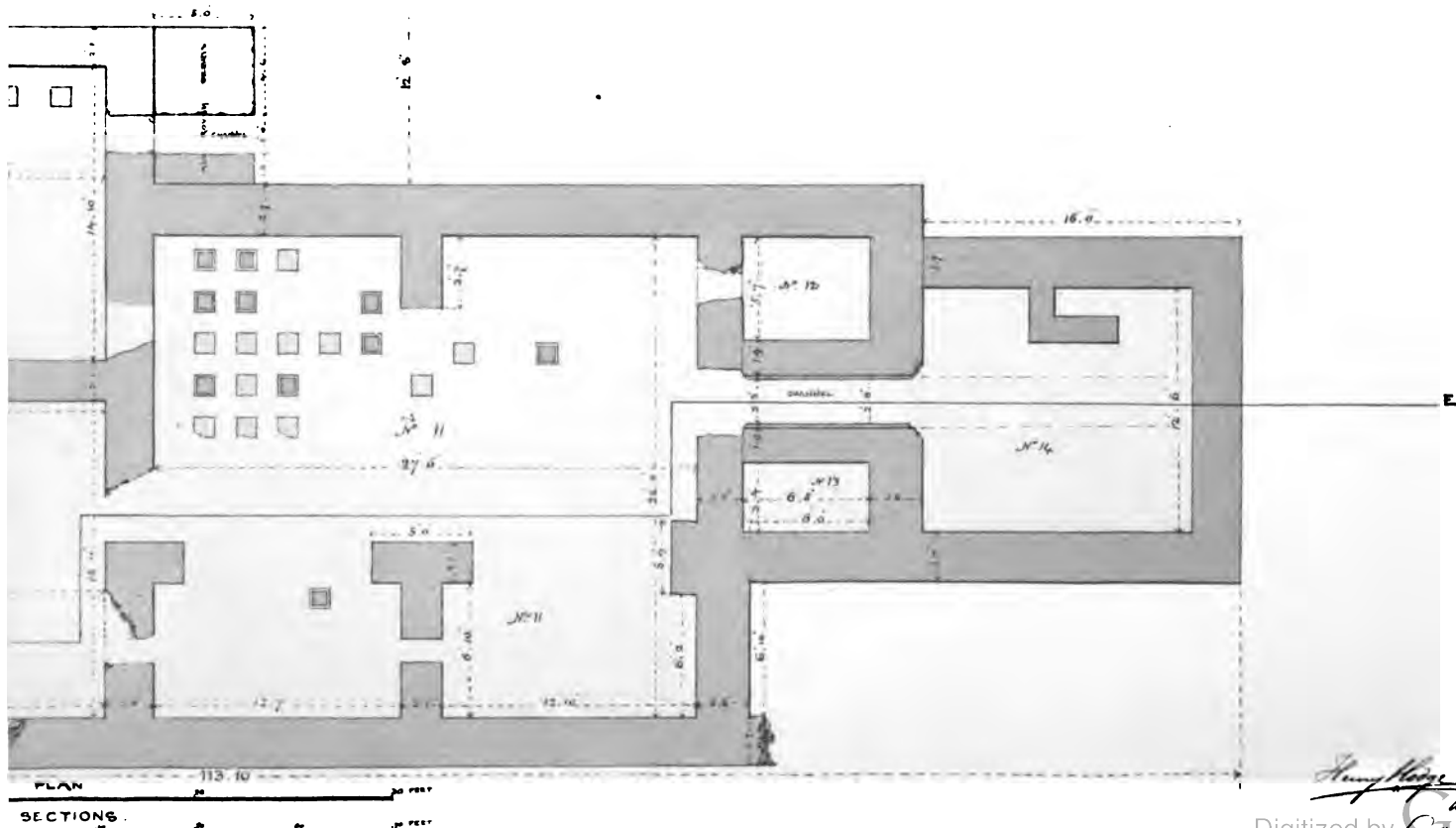
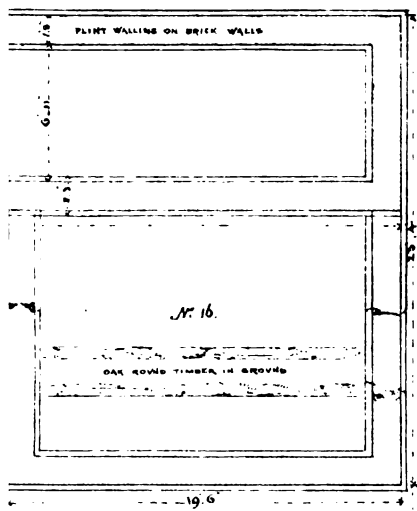
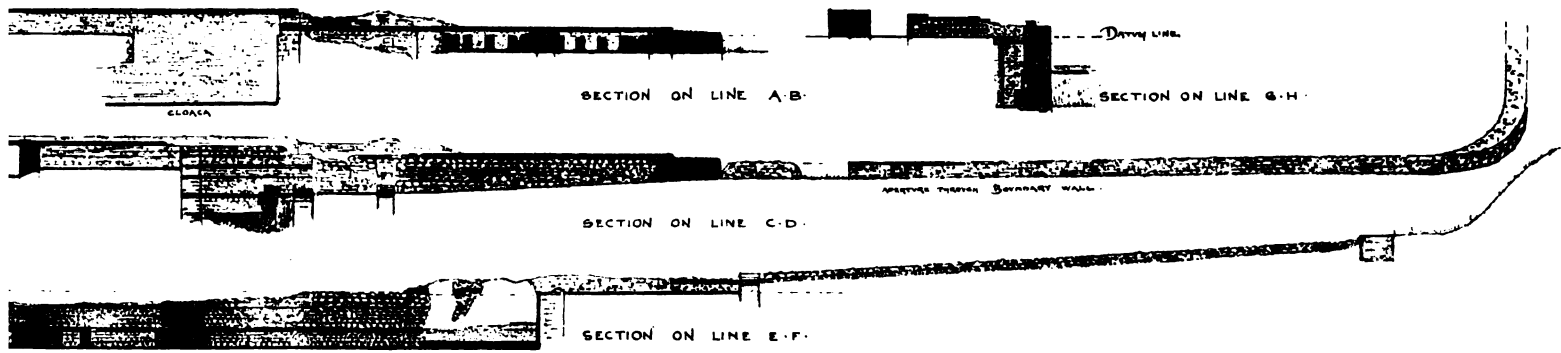
At the eastern end is a vault (or *camera*) of a hot bath, in which now stand about fifty pillars, some round and some square, composed of thick paving-tiles, seven inches in diameter, which it is conjectured supported the plaster floor of the *sudatorium* above. The remains of flues and a large accumulation of charcoal and ashes evidently show that here the heated air was generated which filled the *sudatorium*. The size of this vault is 24 feet by 12½ feet, and there is another west of it, divided by a brick wall, of similar size and appearance. Beyond that is another vault with a strong separation of wall between, near 5 feet high, whose dimensions are about 24 feet by 20 feet, and in this the bases only of pillars are visible.

Adjoining to this is a bath, not ornamental but in a most perfect state; it measures 12 feet by 8 feet, has a floor of large earthen pavement, and its sides are encrusted by an adamantine cement. The way in which it was supplied with water is still visible, by means of a lead pipe formed of very drossy metal or else in a state of great corrosion.

Above and just beyond the bath is a large apartment, supposed to be the portico or vestibule, in which some portions of a tessellated pavement still remain, and a moulded skirting composed of cement. Many relics were gathered including (in the bath) a human skeleton, and in the leaden pipe connected with the same upwards of 200 Roman brass coins.”

Upon comparison it will be observed how similar these apartments are to the southern rooms shown in our illustration, and in several matters of detail which are now absent, these contemporaneous descriptions of earlier excavations are extremely valuable and interesting.





In a communication Mr. Monro says: "The baths of 1833 are the last excavated portion which has been dug out since Mr. Joyce's death." This statement corroborates the identity of the two excavations.

Therefore we may conclude that Mr. A. J. Kempe was somehow mistaken in the situation of the baths of 1833, as being near the modern road and the church.

The Rev. J. Coles, about the same time, opened three or four places, all close together. Marked upon the published plans of the city contiguous to these baths will be observed "Site of Roman Villa." This was probably another of these excavations, and the baths and villa are well remembered by old inhabitants.

The plans made in the autumn of 1881 by Mr. Henry Hodge are reproduced on Plates XVII., XVIII., and XIX.

This excavation, which is in the nine-acre field, appears to indicate the foundations of an important series of baths. They extend about 114 feet from east to west and 94 feet from north to south. The general structure of the walls shows for the most part regular bedded, coursed masonry, not random work, and occasionally one observes instances where alterations or reparations have been made. The south main wall, which varies from 2 feet 6 inches in width at the western end to 2 feet 7 inches on the east, is built of four courses of flint and stone and two courses of bricks, then five courses of flint and stone and one course of bricks (or occasionally two courses), then three courses of flint and stone and two courses of bricks; this observation was made in the wall close to the flue tile hypocaust in No. 8 where it is 5 feet 6 inches in height. The mortar is of brown colour, and the bricks, which are of the usual size of Roman bricks, are laid in reddish mortar.

The stones are mostly hammer-dressed and roughly squared; they consist of grey grits, oolites, and now and then marble and even blocks of chalk. In the western and north-western portions of the buildings flint mainly predominates. Large portions of the division-walls eastwards are built of bricks, which are well tied in and returned on the main walls by brickwork. The quoins and angles are generally of brick.

There are sixteen chambers, and for convenience they shall be numbered. (See Plate XVII.) We will commence with that at the north end, which shall be called No. 1; the walls on the north-east and west are 2 feet 1 inch thick; as No. 2 is of the same dimensions the two shall be dealt with together. They are evidently hypocausts, and measure 13 feet 9 inches in length by 9 feet 3 inches in breadth; they each terminate in a semi-elliptic apse towards the east. In the apse of No. 1

was a 3-inch leaden pipe, which passed through the wall at the level of the ancient floor; the ends showed a rough fracture. This has been placed in the museum for better security. The *præfurnium* existed at the north end, the entrance to the hypocaust was in the centre of the wall, the passage being 5 feet in length and 1 foot 8 inches in width.

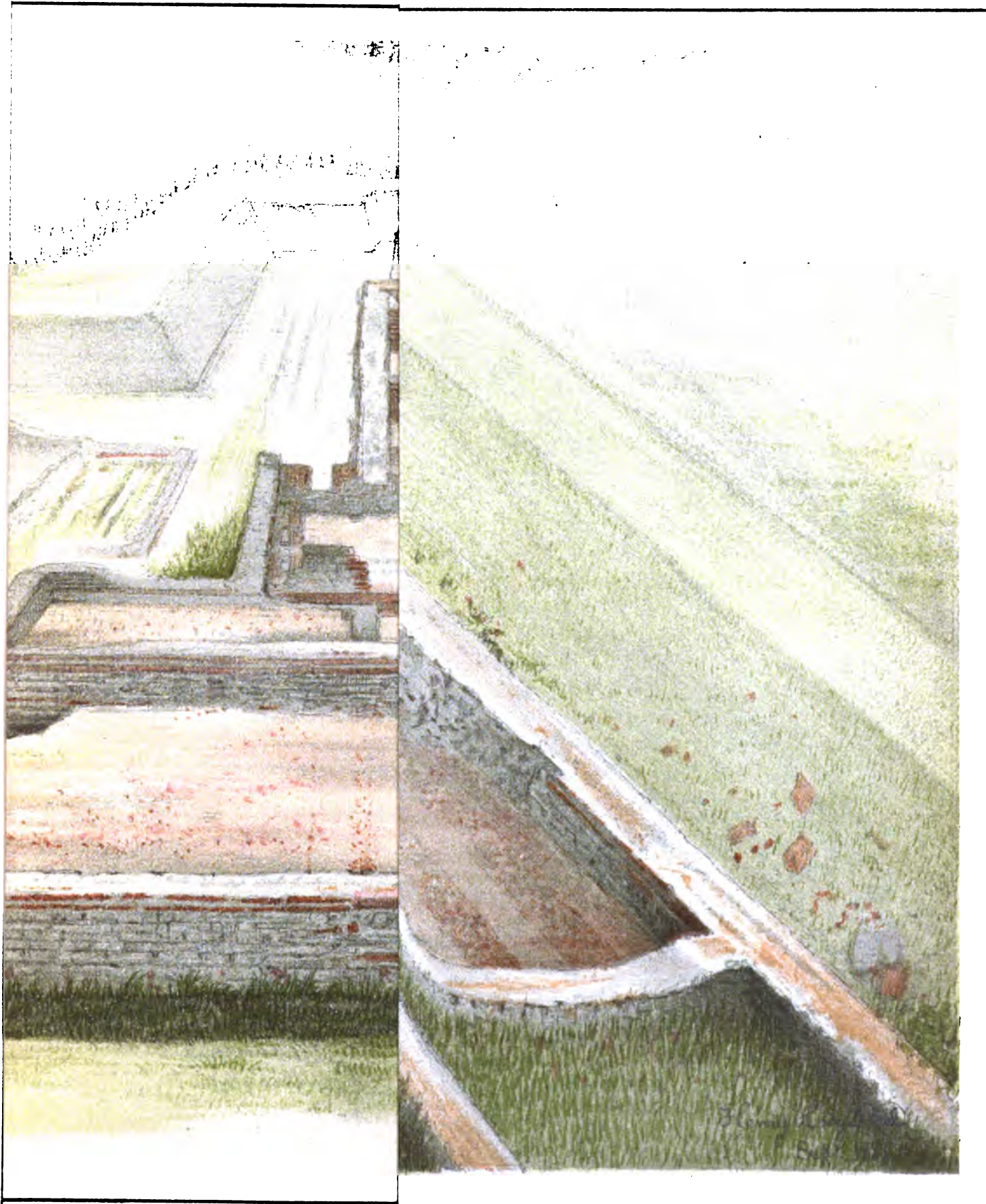
The boundary wall near this point is surmounted by a course of bricks, embedded in thick white mortar about 2 inches in thickness. The bricks measure $17\frac{1}{4}$ inches and $11\frac{1}{8}$ inches by $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch.

In chamber No. 1 were 27 *pilæ* of square tiles 8 inches by 8 inches on plinths 12 inches by 12 inches; they are built with half-joints of red mortar. No. 2 contained only 20 *pilæ* of tiles, but in both cases some few had been destroyed in excavating. The two chambers communicated by means of three air-passages cut in the wall. There was evidence when first discovered of one of these passages having been arched over, but that was entirely obliterated when last I visited the remains.

No. 3 is a chamber measuring 12 feet 6 inches on the west side by 11 feet 10 inches on the east, and 13 feet 9 inches across. At the west end is an opening, evidently a doorway leading into the long corridor No. 5. There is an aperture in the wall on the east side, and two on the west side, both at the north end of the chamber, probably intended for drainage.

No. 4 is a solidly-constructed chamber projecting two-thirds of its width beyond the main western wall. The outside walls are 3 feet 4 inches in thickness; the inside measurement is 6 feet from east to west by 5 feet from north to south; the depth is 2 feet 9 inches. It is lined with regular courses of brick, and there are no remains of wall plastering. It is paved with large bricks. From the fact of a chamber of such small size being so substantially built, it appears to indicate a superstructure of great weight, or one requiring extra protection.

No. 5. This chamber, perhaps the *apodyterium*, is 52 feet 2 inches in length by 17 feet 8 inches in breadth; it is upon the same level as No. 3, whereas all the remaining parts of the excavations are some feet below. This chamber is paved with loose red brick *tesserae*, with some slight indication of pattern for 25 feet on the north side of it; the remainder consists of eleven bands of rammed tile, with uncertain intervals of fragments of tile near the surface. The difference in level we thought might be accounted for by the presence of hypocausts beneath, but, finding a hole made by vermin, it was tested by Mr. Hodge early in August 1884, who made a section in the floor of room 7, which is upon this same level, and he found the floor to be composed as follows:—4 inches thickness of flints in



W. Griggs, Photo-Lith.

OF THE BATHS. (BLOCK IX).

black muddy wet soil, then 2 inches or so of fragments of $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch broken tiles. On this foundation was a stratum of red concrete 11 inches thick, not compact. On the top was a stratum of 9 inches of very perfect salmon-tinted concrete graduated from coarse to fine, which latter was $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick. The whole measured 2 feet 2 inches in thickness, or with the pavement about 2 feet 3 inches.

The external wall at the north is almost entirely composed of flints; at the south end there are large brick blocks and a double course of thin tiles. This may be accounted for by difference in period or object of construction.

At the north-east corner of this chamber is a deep cutting, perhaps we may call it a *cloaca*, $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep, which extends southwards for 14 feet 4 inches; the lower part up to the second set-off is built of bricks, the upper being flints. This *cloaca* emptied itself outside the building on the east side through a passage 1 foot 2 inches wide into an open court situated between the walls of No. 6 and No. 15. Even now the ground is very swampy at this spot. In company with Mr. Langshaw we dug in it a year or two ago to ascertain the course of this drain, and we then discovered it about 2 feet beneath the surface; it was paved with 8-inch square tiles in two thicknesses, and passed under the floor of No. 16. Above it, in that chamber, oak beams were laid. There are four exits from the long chamber No. 5; one on the east side, leading into No. 7, the entrance being in the centre of the wall of that chamber, which has had a tessellated door; the next exit was also on the east side, leading into No. 8, but the wall is here destroyed, so very little now remains of it; the third exit was on the west side, nearly opposite the latter, and leads into an ambulatory, which appears to connect these baths with the buildings of Block VIII.; the fourth leads into No. 3 on the north.

No. 6 is a chamber 14 feet 6 inches north and south by 12 feet 9 inches; its walls all differ in thickness, that of the north and south is 2 feet 1 inch, the west wall is 2 feet 6 inches, and that of the east wall is 2 feet 8 inches. The floor is composed of loose red brick *tesserae*, with some indications of a pattern; there is an opening in the south-west corner 3 feet in width.

No. 7. This chamber is 12 feet 11 inches by 12 feet 9 inches. On the east, at 1 foot 6 inches from the angle of the north-east wall, is an opening 3 feet 5 inches wide leading into No. 9; this doorway was paved with white *tesserae* laid on a bed of red concrete 8 inches in thickness. This chamber was paved with concrete, but no *tesserae* were visible. At 4 feet 9 inches from the north, on the west side, is an entrance into No. 5, which doorway is 4 feet wide. At the south end the wall is

of unusual thickness, *i.e.*, 4 feet 1 inch; part of it on the west side is broken away.

No. 8. This is a hypocaust of more than ordinary interest, exhibiting a series of horizontal flues composed of a layer of what are usually termed box flue tiles, measuring $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length by $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width and 6 inches high, and of $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in thickness, of red pottery, with two openings on each side 3 inches wide, and the entire internal height is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

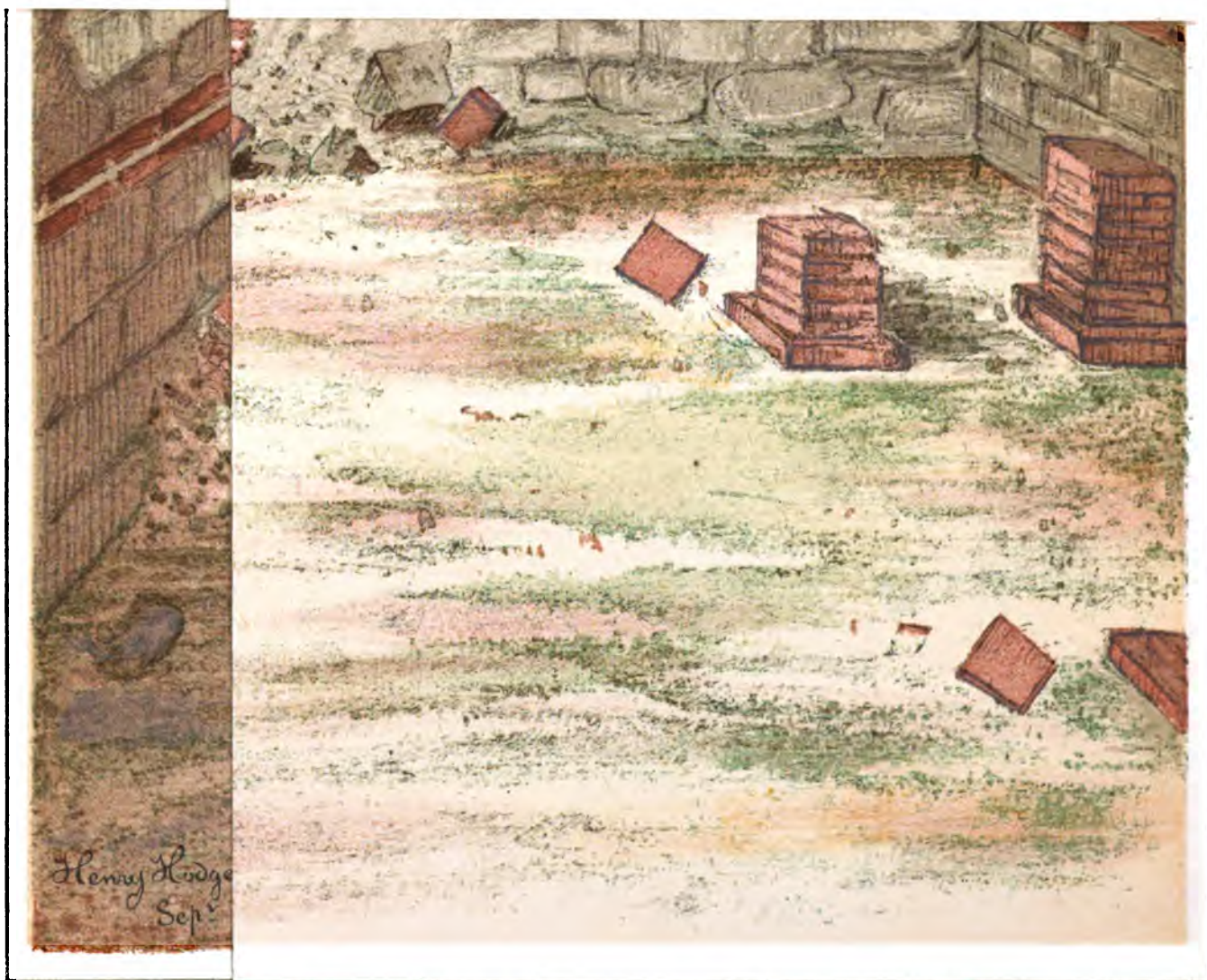
The chamber itself in which this hypocaust is contained measures 34 feet 5 inches east and west, and 15 feet 11 inches north and south; but the flue-tile hypocaust is in the western recess of it, which measures 11 feet 5 inches east and west by 8 feet 10 inches north and south. It may possibly have been quite distinct. There is only one upcast flue visible, and that appears to be somewhat of a similar pattern to the others set vertical, but it was so broken and also filled with red mortar that an exact opinion could not be formed. This arrangement was laid upon a bed of red concrete, the thickness of which is not obvious. These flue-tiles are overlaid with a solid covering about 10 inches thick of very superior concrete in three layers of strata, the lowest composed of white mortar mixed with nodules of chalk and pounded red tile, the next is salmon colour mixed with finely sifted unslaked lime, and the upper, which forms the bedding for the floor of tiles, is of red mortar with finely pulverised tile, the whole forming a very solid mass of perfect concrete.

The paving tiles are about 8 inches square and about $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick; on these, overlying a portion of the surface, is a layer of white mortar or stucco 5 inches in thickness, on which, in the north-west angle of the recess, are laid a few ordinary building bricks as a pavement. (See Plate XIX.)

The enclosing walls of this flue-tile hypocaust recess have been stuccoed, and there are evidences of various colours, but all is much perished, and the pattern or design is untraceable. The only other example of stucco plastering remaining is at the two doorways observable in the plate; this has been much coloured, and some of the tints are visible.

The whole depth of this chamber is 5 feet 6 inches, from the top of the south main wall, the composition of which has been already described when speaking of the walls of these buildings.

There appears to be evidence of alterations having been made in this chamber at some time or other, as the floor over the horizontal flues has, no doubt, been added, and the upcast flue-pipe been filled up with salmon-coloured concrete. It had probably been constructed in the first instance as a hot bath, and then



LOCK IX, CHAMBER 8).

subsequently changed into a tepid plunge or swimming bath, which may account for the immense thickness of the floor. Over the eastern portion of the room were several *pilae* of the usual 8-inch square red tiles, upon which a floor had been suspended, heated by hot air.

No. 9. A chamber to the north of the last described, measures 14 feet 10 inches by 6 feet 11 inches. It has an opening or doorway 2 feet 9 inches in width, in the centre of the eastern wall leading into No. 10. On the south side, at a distance of 1 foot 2 inches from the west wall, is a block of brickwork 1 foot 9 inches in width, extending for 5 feet 9 inches along the wall; a similar block obtains at the north end, only it is 2 feet 5 inches in width. There are three *pilae* of red 8-inch square tiles upon the floor, all that remained of a hypocaust. There is no doubt but that the blocks of brickwork likewise formed part of it.

No. 10, the adjoining chamber on the east, is 14 feet 10 inches by 10 feet 2 inches; it likewise contained three *pilae* of tiles. Outside the east wall is a block of rough *débris*, 5 feet in width, through which a channel 2 feet wide has been cut, no doubt the passage from the *præfurnium*; there is likewise an opening on the south, leading into chamber No. 11 on the east.

No. 11. This chamber measures 27 feet 6 inches east and west, 24 feet 4 inches north and south; it is divided into four compartments, the two southern ones may even have been separate rooms, but in the absence of sufficient evidence, I include them in this one. It was heated by means of a hypocaust, as twenty *pilae* of the usual red tiles were found upon the floor. A passage on the east, 2 feet 8 inches in width, leads into a chamber at the end, which may have been the kitchen.

Upon either side of this channel are two small chambers.

That upon the north we will call No 12; it measures 6 feet 5 inches east and west by 5 feet 7 inches north and south; the thickness of the walls on the north and east are 2 feet 8 inches, and on the south by the channel only 1 foot 9 inches. It has a narrow opening into No. 11.

No. 13. This small chamber measures 6 feet 5 inches east and west by 3 feet 4 inches north and south. It has no apparent outlet; its walls are of the same thickness as the last described.

No. 14. The most easterly chamber, measures 14 feet north and south by 12 feet 6 inches east and west. Adjoining its northern wall is a singular angular projection, forming a small recess, which was probably a *latrina*.

No. 15. This is a long chamber, 49 feet in length east and west by 6 feet 11 inches north and south. The walls are composed of flints laid upon brick footings. On the north this wall is 1 foot 8 inches in width. It has in the

centre an opening 6 feet 8 inches wide; upon each side of which is a large block of stone 2 feet 1 inch square by 5 inches in thickness, with 2 inches of mortar below. This appears to have been a main entrance; it is the only one on the north side. Several attempts have been made to discover the road or street leading to this building, but without effect. It was probably approached by a long passage, connecting it with a minor street running east and west, which has not as yet been made out, but which, it is to be hoped, may yet be ascertained and placed upon the map.

No. 16. This chamber is situated at the south-east end of No. 15. It measures 15 feet 6 inches east and west by 12 feet 4 inches north and south, and was probably floored with planks of wood, as on the south end of it are two long strips of oak round-timber, beneath which, as already stated, the drain flowed. It would appear from the plan that there was another entrance on the south west, approached by an ambulatory, 60 feet long, from the building of Block VIII. which, as far as we can at present tell, may have formed a portion of the same building. It is certain that there was no entrance or exit on the south, as the wall is there quite massive.

There is reason to suppose that no other building existed between this and the city wall, but that the space formed the *pomoerium*.

I cannot conclude without thanking Mr. Langshaw for his able assistance, and for much useful information rendered during the preparation of this paper.



W. GREGG. PHOTO-LITH.

FRISKNEY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.—WALL PAINTING OF THE ASCENSION.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
PRESS

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

XVII.—*On the Mural Paintings in All Saints Church, Friskney, Lincolnshire.*
Communicated by the Rev. HENRY JOHN CHEALES, M.A., Vicar of Friskney, and
Rural Dean of Candleshoe.

SECOND PAPER.

Read May 15, 1884, and May 13, 1886.

THE accompanying plates are copies of two fresh subjects in the series of mural paintings lately discovered on the clerestory-walls of All Saints church, Friskney. Four of this series have been already described in the *Archaeologia*,^a viz., the Assumption, the Stable at Bethlehem, the Last Supper, and the Gathering of the Manna; the copies before us of the newly-found pictures represent (I) the Ascension, and (II) the Resurrection.

I.—THE ASCENSION.

This picture (Plate XX.) is on the spandrel over the easternmost pillar of the north arcade of the nave. It adjoins on the east the painting of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, a tracing of which has been shown to the Society as having been found on this clerestory next to the chancel arch. The size of the entire spandrel on which this was painted is 8 feet 7 inches in width by 7 feet 5 inches high. Unhappily the lower part of the painting was quite destroyed in fixing to the wall, at the restoration of the church in 1879, the scaffolding for repairing the clerestory windows, so that little more than half, the upper half, of the picture, as shown in this tracing, remains; the lower part of this too is so much injured as to make it extremely difficult to assign any meaning to the lines which faintly survive.

Fortunately the best preserved portion of the picture is the central and principal figure, that of the Saviour himself. This stands out in very effective

^a Vol. XLVIII. 270.

prominence—light, and with rays of light, as from a “glorified body,” upon a broad background of deep crimson.

The dark background, by which, as in the painting of the Gathering of the Manna, is represented the distance, extends over the whole of the upper part of the spandrel, and from it stands out alone and conspicuous, even now, from the floor of the church below, the figure of Christ—alone, except that at each corner a small angel, with wings as in flying, holds forward with both arms extended a long scroll reaching downwards to the group below.

That this painting represents the Ascension seems evident from the general character of the grouping, and may be said to be proved by one characteristic, which belongs to all medieval representations of this subject, viz., the footprints on “the Mount” beneath the Christ. This, as so frequently seen in illuminated manuscripts, is a small round summit, with the top, on which the footprints are seen, formed something like the section of a truncated tree. The slope up to this is painted green.

Upon this green slope stand a group of figures, fewer in number than usually represented, four on the right and five on the left being discernible. The nimbus marking each head is almost all to show them, except in one instance, the head on the extreme right, which alone (on this side) is turned towards the Saviour. The eye of this face has been curiously preserved better than anything else in the painting, inasmuch as a little hollow in the wall, just the size of an eye, was chosen to contain it, and, thanks to this little recess, it has remained almost as clear and fresh as when first painted.

To this figure, apparently, belongs the scroll which reaches upwards to that proceeding from the right hand of the Christ.

On the left, next to the footprints, is a figure (the face resembling that of St. Peter in the Last Supper,) who also is looking upwards towards the Lord, with his right hand raised as high as his head. In an illuminated manuscript of this subject* there is, as here, one figure with right arm extended; but I have seen no instance in which any of the group of figures at the Ascension is represented with a scroll, as speaking. In the lower part of the space there appear hands, probably those of figures the outlines of which have perished.

On either side of the group of figures are conventional trees, their foliage, like the slope of the mount, coloured green. The stems of these trees, as also the footprints and the nimbus round each head, are in yellow ochre.

* British Museum, 2, 13, xv. *Horae Beatae Virginis et alia officia.*



FRISKNEY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.—WALL PAINTING OF THE RESURRECTION.

of the same subject in illuminated
usual treatment, viz. :—

The incident in paintings of the

to represent only the lower
of the robe and the feet,

teen of these.

placed quite in the

7 feet 5

e north

Nati-

tion

 t_0



FRISKNEY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.—WALL PAINTING OF THE RESURRECTION.



Comparing this painting with examples of the same subject in illuminated manuscripts there are slight variations from the usual treatment, viz. :—

1. The cross bearing a banner, an inseparable incident in paintings of the Resurrection, but rare in those of the Ascension.
2. The full figure of Christ. It is more usual to represent only the lower portion of the Lord's body, often only just the bottom of the robe and the feet, rising above the mount with the footprints in it.
3. The small number of figures. There are frequently fifteen of these.
4. The absence of the Blessed Virgin, who is usually placed quite in the foreground.

II.—THE RESURRECTION.

This painting (Plate XXI.) occupies the space, 8 feet 7 inches by 7 feet 5 inches, of the spandrel over the second column from the chancel of the north arcade, and stands, in the series of Scriptural subjects, between that of the Nativity on the west and the Ascension on the east. No painting of the Crucifixion has yet been found. I hope to discover it on the opposite wall, probably next to the Last Supper.*

This painting, in its manner of treatment, offers some points which are suggestive of the great change which had been and was taking place in Christian art, when, on the completion of the enlarged church, *circa* 1420, this decoration was added to the new clerestory.

The effect of the Renaissance, following the introduction of Byzantine artists into Europe after the conquest of Constantinople in the thirteenth century, had been a gradual but vigorous development from the rigid austerity and meagreness of eastern art. New, freer, and bolder conceptions of form and composition prevailed over mere servile repetitions of former traditional treatment. The manly, vigorous life of the west, and I think we may say especially of the north-west countries, coming into contact with eastern art, touched and made the dry bones to live.

The growth of architecture and increased church building at that period had their undoubted effect in the same direction, as the treatment requisite for large spaces, such as church walls, called forth a bolder method, more graceful outline, and greater skill in composition than had been possible in the miniature work of illuminated manuscripts.

* *Archaeologia*, XLVIII. Plate XIII.

Together with this came also a new departure, noticeably on this subject of the Resurrection, in the treatment of the theme itself, viz., in the representation of Christ himself rising out of the tomb.

The reverence of early art had forborne to supply by any effort of imagination more than Holy Scripture had recorded. According to the maxim of the Venerable Bede, "We cannot know that on which Truth keeps silence."

As Mrs. Jamieson remarks, "an artist in the early ages of the church shrank from, or never dreamed of, a representation of a mystery not revealed to human sight over which the silence of Scripture rested like a pall forbidden to be lifted."

In the painting before us I think we have examples of this transitional stage of medieval decorative art.

The conventional treatment is maintained, but with a degree of individual adaptation which agrees with that development which is admitted in the words of Durandus, even a century before this, that "various subjects of the Old and New Testament were painted according to the discretion of the painters."

And that also, which had not until the end of the fourteenth century entered into the treatment, *the actual rising of the Lord out of the tomb*, is here a predominant feature.

Hitherto, as in a lovely altar-piece by Duccio, as late as the fourteenth century, the act was only referred to by representing an angel pointing out to the Three Maries the open tomb, and that treatment prevailed up to the fourteenth century.

Here is represented a combination of incidents, in themselves separate and not simultaneous—the actual rising—the descent of the angel—the approach of the women—and the appearance (as when the Lord subsequently appeared to her alone) of the Magdalene.

The picture before us plainly tells all this with realistic simplicity.

The central figure of the Christ is raised above and prior to all else in interest. It stands out from the dark background, which does not, I think, represent the darkness of night—not as signifying that the rising was before the dawn of day—but is merely, as in all the other pictures of this series, employed to represent distance, as a medium for throwing out effectively the group of figures.

This background is not carried on over the head of the Christ. That part of the wall is unfortunately so defaced that I can gain no clue to the meaning of the few lines which remain above the head. The right hand is raised, with the two fingers uplifted in benediction; in the left is held the staff with flag of victory surmounted by a cross. The right knee and foot are advanced as if stepping out

of the square tomb, the lid of which is closed—as showing the passing of the glorified body through the closed tomb, as afterwards through the locked doors of the upper chamber, where the disciples were assembled. This representation of the tomb as closed is exceptional; the general use being to show the lid or upper slab lifted or placed transversely, as having been removed. It points to the change in treatment which prevailed in later examples (sixteenth century pictures), in offering proof that the rising was miraculous. In an example quoted by Mrs. Jamieson, by Annibale Caracci, there is represented the Christ rising not only through the closed lid, but also the lifeless body of a soldier lying upon the lid.

Close by the knee which appears out from the lid, and on the right extremity of the tomb, is the figure of one of the soldiers fallen forwards on the tomb, the peaked helmet downwards, the shoulders and back curiously but not ungracefully foreshortened; the right arm doubled up under the head, showing at the bend of the elbow a joint in its armour; evidently the hand, though hidden by the helmet, still maintains its grasp of the spear, which is held upright, with a small pennant attached to it just below the blade. The character of the helmet—sugar-loafed and high, with sharp peak—seems to mark a period certainly before 1450, for in the latter part of the fifteenth century the helmets were worn lower, and gradually became more flat or round. Beneath the tomb, and in the lower centre of the picture, are lines which seem to indicate the recumbent figures of two other soldiers; and out of the wreck of this portion of the picture there survives a palpable sword as it were dropped from its owner's hand, for the clearly-marked hilt shows no trace of fingers grasping it.

From the extreme right a group of women enter, whom we may conclude to represent Mary the wife of Cleophas, Salome, and Joanna, the drapery carefully drawn after the manner usually seen on medieval brasses.

The central figure of the three, whose headdress is manifestly different from the other two, raises to her breast her clasped hands, the right arm being supported by her companion on the right. The third, with face slightly inclined towards the figure with clasped hands, points with her left hand towards the Christ, while her right hand holds before her breast a vase containing (doubtless) the sweet spices for embalmment.

On the opposite extreme left is a graceful figure of, I think we may say, the Magdalene, the head bent reverently downwards, and the right hand pointing, with two fingers extended, towards the Christ. The left arm, which hangs down, seems to hold a scroll, which, contrary to the usual treatment, is drawn almost in straight lines *downwards*.

In all the picture, to which I think we may assign considerable merit in grouping and composition, no feature is more graceful than the figure of the angel, which is poised with great lightness and delicacy of movement, as that of a bird just alighting on a spray, upon the surface of the tomb at its extreme edge on the left of the central figure.

The wings, half folded, are beautifully placed; and the hands, *palmis sublati*, turned in adoring homage towards the risen Lord. I wish that any tracing could do justice to the expression of this and the other faces; but it is impossible. Although there lingers about them in their effaced condition signs of a grace which I am sure they possessed, yet to trace here the bits of features which survive would spoil them.

I have therefore omitted these altogether, leaving the general outline only without marring the effect by the grotesqueness which mutilated features might present.

The nationality of the painter is an interesting matter of conjecture. Possibly he was one of the monastic body of that house of St. Catherine's, Friskney, subsidiary of Bolington Priory, which we know had, since the time of Stephen, been there reclaiming the lands from the marsh and civilizing the fen-men. Possibly a German or Italian brother of the monastery, he may have learned art in the school of Siena or Pisa or Cologne, and so a faint ray from the light kindled by the genius of Giotto or Meister Wilhelm may have penetrated even so far as to this remote place.

But may he not have been one of a native English gild who has left us in this work a suggestion that there was too an English school of painting, and that our country shared in a measure in that spring-tide of art which was rising on the continent?

Certainly, I humbly submit, he has left us in the careful and graceful outline, the skill of composition and grouping, in reverent feeling, in the general merit which this picture possesses, proof of a development of the trade or industry of decorative ornamentation in England into something worthy of the name of art.

Whoever he were, I am thankful that his reverent conscientious work for the glory of God and advancement of art has escaped the ruthless hands both of Puritan scraper and churchwarden whitewasher, and that enough survives, after the lapse of nearly five hundred years, for a new generation, now at the end of the nineteenth century, to rise and call him benefactor.

XVIII.—*On Basket-work Figures of Men represented on Sculptured Stones.* By
REV. G. F. BROWNE, B.D.

Read May 20, 1886.

I BEG to invite the attention of the Society of Antiquaries to the occurrence of human figures sculptured on stones at Checkley and Ilam, in Staffordshire, the bodies being represented as formed entirely of interlacing bands, and producing the effect of wickerwork images. As far as I know, attention has not hitherto been called to this remarkable and suggestive feature, which seems to throw us far back into the past, and reminds us of the earliest descriptions of the land of Britain.

The stones in the churchyard at Checkley, near Uttoxeter, are mentioned by Camden,^a in Plot's *History of Staffordshire*,^b and in a letter on the Penrith pillars in *Archaeologia*, vol. ii. p. 48. Gough makes Camden say (A.D. 1607), "in the churchyard of Checkley stand three stones like pyramids, two of them adorned with figures, but the middlemost is highest. The inhabitants say here was fought a battle between two armies, one armed and the other not, and three bishops fell in it, in memory of whom these were erected. The historic truth concealed under this tradition I have not yet been able to trace."

Dr. Plot says of them (A.D. 1686) that they are certainly Danish, and that "the inhabitants report them to be memorials of three bishops slain in a battle here about a quarter of a mile E.N.E. from the church, in a place still called *Naked Fields*, because the bodies lay there naked and unburied for some time after the fight." This tradition still remains, only the bishops have been made into kings. The stones are called the Battle-Stones. Dr. Plot gives an engraving of the stones, curiously inadequate and incorrect, but still very interesting. The stone

^a Gough's *Camden*, vol. ii. p. 49.

^b Ch. x. 63, 64.

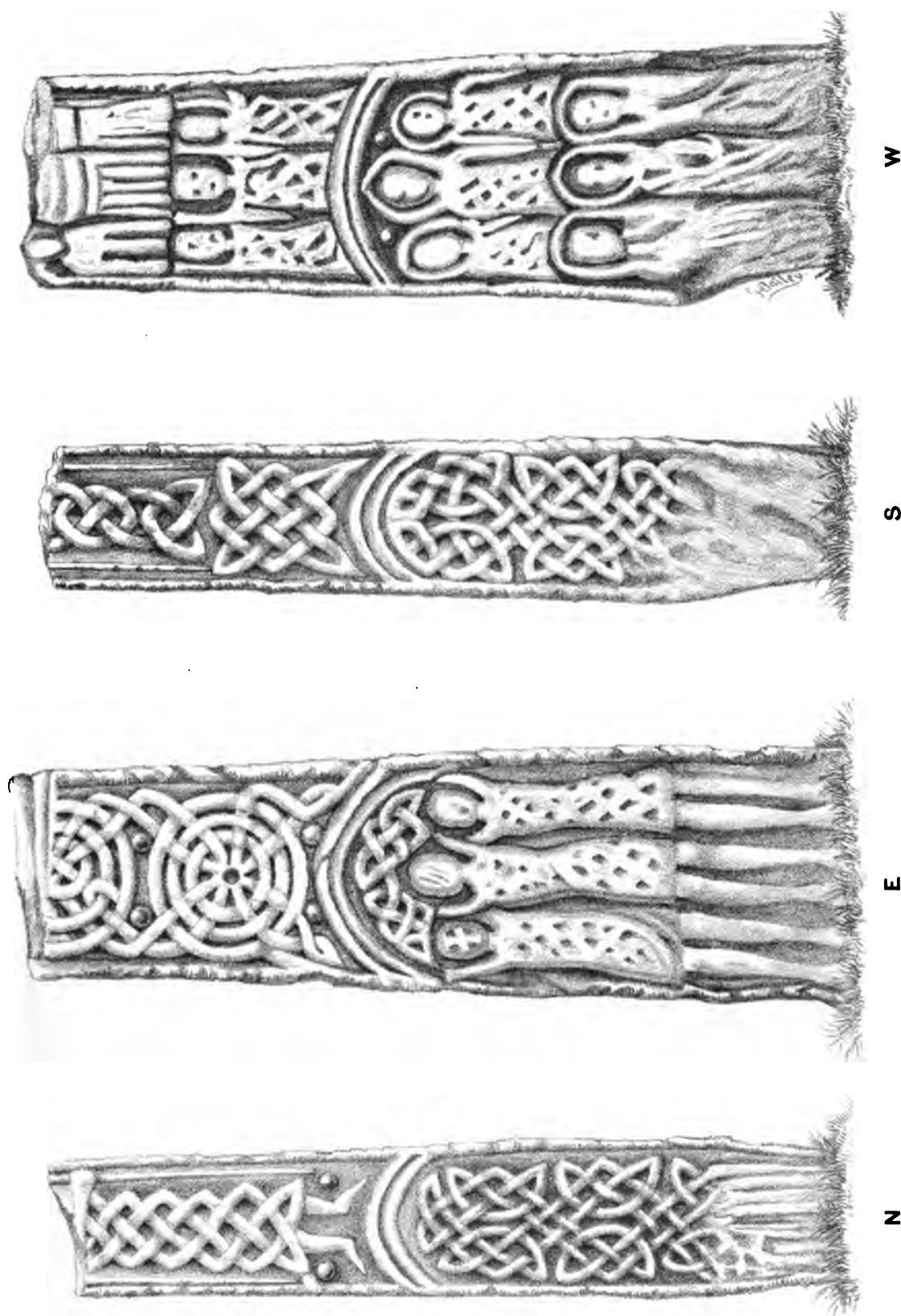
I call No. 2 was then (1686) nearly twice its present height, and at the top a projection is shown, as if the commencement of an arm of a cross or a "wheel."

The writer in *Archaeologia* (Dr. Lyttelton, then Dean of Exeter), writing in 1755, says that he was informed several years before, by an ancient inhabitant of the place, that the present plain pillar was placed there in the room of one of the old ones, thrown down and broken by accident.

They are figured in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. xxxiii., and in Redfern's *History of Uttoxeter*. In neither case has the artist detected the special features to which I desire to call attention, nor indeed do the illustrations profess to represent the patterns on the panels. At the same time it should be said that Mr. Lynam's illustrations, in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, are very careful and interesting, and valuable as shewing the general appearance of the stones.

The larger of the two stones, which I will call No. 1, is about 4 feet 8 inches high; its four faces are shown on Plate XXII. The east and west faces are 20 inches wide at bottom and 16 inches at top, the corresponding dimensions of the north and south edges being 10 inches and 9 inches. Stone No. 2 is about 3 feet 8 inches high; its east and west faces are 18 inches wide at foot and $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches at top; the north and south edges 9 inches and 8 inches. Each of the stones is the lowest part of a loftier pillar, being broken abruptly at the top but coming to an unsculptured termination at the bottom. It is said that they stand in stone sockets, sunk some little distance in the ground.

No. 1 has on the north side two panels. In the upper is a figure of a man, with good legs and feet and with a staff in each hand. His head is gone, the stone being fractured at the neck. His body is composed entirely of one band, interlacing with itself, the two ends projecting at the shoulders and grasping the two staffs. The lower panel, which has an arched head, is filled with a double row of Stafford knots, formed by an endless band. On the south side are three panels. At the top is another basket-work body, with no head and with two staffs. In the place where the legs and feet would come, there is an interlacing pattern composed of two narrow ovals crossed, intersected by a broader oval. The lowest panel is filled with Stafford knots. On the east face there is at the top a pattern composed of three concentric circles, intersected by four semicircles formed by endless bands which pass on to a second system of concentric circles, of which only the lower half is left, the rest being broken off by the fracture of the pillar. Below are three basket-work bodies, side by side, with heads and legs, the central figure being the tallest and the figure on the observer's right the



SCULPTURED CROSS-SHAFT AT CHECKLEY, STAFFORDSHIRE.

shortest. On the west face there are at the top what appear to be the trunks of three men, side by side, in pleated dresses, without feet, the upper part being broken away. Below this are three basket-work bodies, side by side, with heads but no legs. Lower still, in a panel with an arched top, are three more basket-work bodies, side by side, with heads but no legs, and below them again a like trio. Thus there are on this stone portions of 21 human figures, 18 of which are represented as formed of wicker-work. In some cases the ends of the interlacing band, which emerge at the shoulders, are shewn as arms; in other cases they pass up on each side of the face and look like a nimbus; or they pass across into the system of the wicker-work figure standing next to that to which they belong. The nimbus arrangement is more evident in the case of the Ilam stone to be described later. The division of the panels is at the same height on each side of the stone. The west face, which is in several respects the most remarkable, is a good deal obscured by lichen, and it is almost close to the railings of a huge tomb, so that it is impossible to do justice to it. This is unfortunate, especially as it appears to be in better preservation than the other sides, owing something perhaps to the protection which the tomb has afforded for many years.

No. 2 has on the north side at the top a panel filled with interlacement, and below two figures face to face; probably some kind of nondescript monster. This side is so much perished that comparatively little can be made of it. On the south side there is at the top a well-executed serpent-dragon head downwards, with its own tail in its mouth, and its body tied in triquetrae or Stafford knots, and below are two human figures of basket-work. On the east face, the upper panel is filled with Stafford knots, enriched by the interlacement of a second band, and shewing a sharp turn and doubling back of the band which is very unusual indeed on English stones, but is found in manuscripts and embroidery of the Carlovingian period, in sculpture at Ravenna, and in Roman pavements. The lower part of this face is occupied by four large triquetrae; this arrangement being very unusual on English stones. On the west face there are at the top a pair of bird-dragons, only decipherable by comparison with an almost identical panel on a stone at Ilam, and below this are two rows of three human figures. Thus there are on this stone portions of eight human figures, and while No. 1 has no representation of a dragon or other monster, there are dragons on three of the four sides of No. 2. But nothing can be built on diversities of this kind, for neither stone is complete.

The two stones in the churchyard at Ilam, at the mouth of Dovedale, are figured in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. xxxiii. on the

plate already referred to. One of them may be passed over on the present occasion, as it has not the special feature to which I am calling attention.

The other stone is almost complete, only the head and arms of the cross being broken off. It is 7 feet 6 inches high, from the socket, and has been about 8 feet. The east and west faces are 17 inches to 18 inches wide at the foot, and 8 inches at the top; the north and south edges $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches at foot, and 6 inches at top. The east face has four panels. The panel at top has an interlacing pattern, the two ends of the band passing up beyond the shaft of the cross and following the curves towards the arms, where no doubt they formed interlacing patterns and passed away in like manner into the uppermost key of the cross. The panel next below has six Staffordshire knots, enriched by the interlacement of an additional band. The panel next below this has two concentric circles above and three below, with bands interlacing in semicircles. The lowest panel has two bird-dragons, with forepaws crossed and their bodies or tails interlaced; this interlacement I could not decipher, on account of the presence of an upright grave-stone close by, but that hindrance has been removed since my second visit, and I should think the pattern can now be determined. In that case, the corresponding panel at Checkley will probably be decipherable also. The upper panel of the west face has been much the same as the corresponding panel on the east, but it has perished too much to say with certainty. The two panels below this are practically the same as those on the east face. The lowest panel has three basket-work human figures, much perished and undecipherable except by the experience of Checkley. The arrangement is much the same as at Checkley, the central figure the highest, the figure on the observer's left the next highest, and that on the right the lowest; they have legs, and the bands more decidedly form a ring round the head than in some of the Checkley instances. On the north and south edges the uppermost panel has in each case an interlacing pattern, and the panel next below a system of plain Staffordshire knots. The lowest panel on the north has some very clear interlacements, but for their pattern and meaning I have no solution, except by a somewhat forced explanation; that on the south has a basket-work man with a staff, all much perished.

After working out this stone, I was taken to see a fragment some little distance off, in the Ley, a piece of ground lying below Ilam Hall, above the place where the Manifold and Hamps rivers flow out of the rock after a subterranean course of some miles. This is a very massive stone, about 5 feet high, standing in a socket on two steps formed by two ancient stones of large size. It is a rectangular shaft, about 18 inches by 16 or 17. It was taken from the foundations of an old

cottage, when Mr. Scott Russell was transforming Ilam into a model village, but its memory had not been lost during the time of its service as building material, and it was known as the battle-stone. At first sight it was hopeless to make anything of it, worn, battered, and covered with lichen and moss. But, after a sound scrubbing with a stable-brush, one basket-work man after another stood revealed to an eye instructed by the decipherment of the Checkley stones. On the south side there are three large basket-work men in the upper panel, and three in the lower. On the north side, three basket-work men in the upper panel, and three concentric circles in the lower, interlaced with four semicircles, large bosses being used to fill up vacant places, as on some of the Checkley panels. The east side is worn away at the lower part, it is said by the wheels of carts when it stood in the village; the upper part has a system of Staffordshire knots, enriched by the interlacement of an additional band. The west side also has almost perished, but the upper part has two large basket-work men, and the lower has the remains of four very bold triquetrae, arranged as at Checkley.

Thus these four remarkable stones in Staffordshire, two at Checkley and two at Ilam, ring the changes on basket-work images, Staffordshire knots, concentric circles, and interlacements, with a few dragons and triquetrae. There are on them thirty-eight human figures, eight panels of Staffordshire knots, seven sets of concentric circles with four systems of three circles and three of two, and six panels of simple interlacement; two panels of triquetrae, four of dragons or beasts, and one which is as yet a puzzle, but may mean three serpents, complete the inventory. Three of the four stones, it must be remembered, are only the lower parts of shafts, which, from the squareness and massiveness of these portions, may have reached to a very considerable height.

The only example of a human figure formed of basket-work which I have found on a stone other than these four is at Sandbach, in Cheshire. On one of the stones placed upright, round the platform on which the two magnificent sculptured shafts in the market-place at Sandbach stand, is the figure of a man from the waist upwards, the body made of an interlacing band, and the head being, as at Checkley and Ilam, an isolated oval. The Sandbach stone has the peculiarity, that round the neck, as it were, is a separate collar, partly hid of course by the head, which presents the full face to the observer, and emerging from behind the head about half-way up the cheeks. The ends are tucked in at the top of the interlacing band which forms the body, and cross in front like a "comforter." It may be that there has been such an arrangement in some of the Checkley and Ilam figures, but I have not detected any signs of it. Other figures

at Sandbach give me the impression that they have had basket-work ornament on them which has now perished.

On one stone in Scotland (Brodie) the characteristic and unexplained "elephant" has its body covered with an interlacing band, and on another (Glenferness) there are remains of interlacement on the "elephant"; but in neither case is the body formed of the interlacing band, it is merely an ornament covering the body, which has the usual complete outline.

In manuscripts of the Hibernian type, serpents and other creatures have their bodies ornamented sometimes with interlacements, as in the case of the Brodie "elephant," but the only figure really formed of basket-work which I have found in a manuscript is the figure of Our Lord, in the "Irish" Psalter at St. John's College, Cambridge. In that case the whole of the trunk is basket-work, the legs, arms, shoulders, and head being shown by ordinary outlines; the beard, too, is a variety of the triquetra, with an interlaced ring, but it has an ordinary outline besides.

It will be clear to any one who knows the very great variety of patterns on sculptured stones, and the remarkable manner in which the early artists contrived to make each stone unlike others, that between the Checkley and the Ilam stones there must have been some unusually close connection. The only key which tradition gives to this connection is the fact that the Checkley stones and the stone in the Ley at Ilam are called battle-stones. Looking to the three accounts of the Checkley tradition, Camden's, Plot's, and the one now current, we see that besides the three important persons, accounting for the number of stones, there is probably another feature in common. The idea of one of the two armies being unarmed is unreasonable, and we may fairly suppose that one army fought in defensive armour, and the other fought without such protection; perhaps the battle was sufficiently early for one of the armies to have but little clothing of any description. This would give us a meaning for the "naked fields." The basket-work trunks of the figures on the stones might represent the appearance of coats of armour, or it is possible that it may have been an attempt to indicate a naked figure in which the bones shewed prominently. Chain armour, when reproduced in stone, has something the air of interlacement, as on the effigies in the Temple Church; one of the finest shields there is covered with "basket-work."

If it had not been for this tradition, I should have looked no further than the well-known fact that wicker-work was very extensively used from the earliest times in this island, times which we may call prehistoric so far as our predecessors here are concerned. And I cannot help thinking that, notwithstanding the special

tradition of the battle-stones at Checkley, and the connection with them which the identity of ornament and of name gives to the Ilam stone, it is to this use of wicker-work that we must look for our explanation. But then there remains the question, to which I confess that I have no answer ready, to what age must we go back to find artists who could design and execute these elaborate monuments contemporaneously with a familiar use of basket-work images? The Sandbach stone, I may remark in passing, seems to me to account, by the collar it gives to the figure, for the high-shouldered appearance presented by early ecclesiastics when shown in profile on sculptured stones. The collar may represent the hood, or it may represent a special part of a priest's dress, something of the nature of an amice.

Mr. G. F. French's paper in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. xv.,* in which he argued for a wicker-work origin for the interlacing ornamentation, at that time supposed to be all but peculiar to the British Islands, brought together a considerable amount of information on the subject. It is rather a fashion now to laugh at the Druids, but I for one quite believe Cæsar's story of their basket-work images of monsters or of men. No theory accounts for the paneled interlacing ornamentation of our English sculptured shafts, and of the crosses sculptured on Scottish stones, so well as that of its being the descendant of early representations in stone of perishable crosses of wicker-work made by the first British Christians. Even if the early inhabitants had not been in the habit in Pagan times of erecting wattle-work pillars in places where monoliths could not be got, we may take it as certain that, when they were told by Christian missionaries to erect crosses as a symbol of their new faith, they would employ for the purpose the beautiful art which had made their manufacture famous at Rome. That wicker-work crosses were made in the Middle Ages is certain; the last example on record, so far as Mr. French's researches went, indeed the only example on record, was in 1630, when Lord Dillon found on "S. Patrick's altar" on Lough Derg (the "altar" being a heap of stones at the east end of the church) a cross made of interwoven twigs.

The parts of these stones which are not occupied by human figures call for the remark that there is nowhere any approach to a foliage scroll. I am accustomed to attribute the superposition of this scroll upon interlacing ornamentation to Wilfrith, and there is a good deal to be said for its being somewhat of a party badge at the end of the seventh century. The Staffordshire knot is not a wicker-

* A.D. 1859, pp. 63—80.

work pattern, and it is found sculptured at Ravenna. The concentric circles, with semicircles interlaced, could be made in wicker-work, no doubt, and as we are dealing with "battle-stones" it may be that they are the descendants of the representation of a wicker-work shield, in which case the bosses would be something more than a mere device to fill a void space. Concentric circles of this character are uncommon on English stones; there is an example on the fine shaft at Hope, in Derbyshire. Of the dragons and other creatures it is unnecessary to speak.

It is probable that, when once attention is called to these basket-work figures, other examples will be found; indeed, I shall not be surprised if other examples are known already, for the field of sculptured stones is so large that no one need be ashamed not to know them all. However that may be, I feel that their presence requires some special explanation, which I am not at all satisfied that we have as yet got, and I am not without hope that they may open a new and unexpected chapter in historical archaeology.

I may say, in conclusion, that we have examples from Peru and elsewhere of men and animals on metal plaques with their bodies formed of reticulated work, of spiral work, and of an "Etruscan" pattern. The curator of our Cambridge Museum of General and Local Archaeology has two remarkable specimens. But I imagine on the whole that the sole object in that case is to provide receptacles for pigments or enamel, and that the presence of these patterns within the outline of the man's or the animal's form is not the survival of wicker or cable work. No doubt the other side of the question can be argued.

It may be worth adding that Checkley lies geographically between Stafford and Ilam, so that St. Bertram, who, according to the tradition, left Stafford and settled at Ilam in Mercian times, and whose name is connected specially with the Ilam district, and with the shrine at Ilam, and with these stones, may have halted at Checkley, and put up both sets of stones, or may have seen the stones at Checkley and put up those at Ilam. The font at Ilam is very ancient, but there are ages of difference in style between it and these stones, and, curiously enough, the same is true at Checkley. Whether it is possible that there is any connection between the name Battle-Stone and the name Bertram, Bertolin, Bartolin, or whether, as the dedications about Ilam are to Bartholomew, Bertram, Bartolin, Bartholomew, Bartlemy, Battle, have anything to do with one another, I cannot say.

XIX.—*Reginald, bishop of Bath (1174-1191); his episcopate, and his share in the building of the church of Wells. By the Rev. C. M. CHURCH, M.A., F.S.A., Sub-dean and Canon Residentiary of Wells.*

Read June 10, 1886.

I VENTURE to think that bishop Reginald Fitzjocelin deserves a place of higher honour in the history of the diocese, and of the fabric of the church of Wells, than has hitherto been accorded to him.

His memory has been obscured by the traditionary fame of bishop Robert as the "author," and of bishop Jocelin as the "finisher," of the church of Wells; and the importance of his episcopate as a connecting link in the work of these two master-builders has been comparatively overlooked. The only authorities followed for the history of his episcopate have been the work of the *Canon of Wells*, printed by Wharton, in his *Anglia Sacra*, 1691, and bishop Godwin, in his *Catalogue of the Bishops of England*, 1601—1616. But Wharton, in his notes to the text of his author, comments on the scanty notice of bishop Reginald;^a and Archer, our local chronicler, complains of the unworthy treatment bishop Reginald had received from Godwin, also a canon of his own cathedral church.^b

^a Reginaldi gesta historicus noster brevius quam pro viri dignitate enarravit. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. 871.

^b Historicus noster et post eum Godwinus nimis breviter gesta Reginaldi perstringunt quae pro egregii viri dignitate narrationem magis applicatam de Canonicis istis Wellensibus merita sunt. Archer, *Chronicon Wellense, sive annales Ecclesiae Cathedralis Wellensis*, p. 75.

Dr. Archer, archdeacon of Taunton, 1712, of Wells, 1726, and canon residentiary, died 1739. He was the friend and correspondent of Thomas Hearne. His hand can be traced in notes throughout the Wells chapter registers. He has left books of manuscript notes, and a valuable chronicle of Wells history from the earliest time to the end of bishop Drokenesford's episcopate, based on most careful study of the episcopal and chapter registers.

We start therefore, with some distrust of our guides, to trace the history of bishop Reginald's episcopate, and his share in the building of the church.

We find now, that the authorities quoted both by Wharton and Godwin are not the only or the original sources for the early history of the church of Wells. They are rather the traditions of the fifteenth century, as understood and interpreted to us by bishop Godwin and Wharton in the seventeenth.

1. The *Canon of Wells* is the title given in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra* to a composite document—two anonymous manuscript tracts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries found in the Wells chapter register,^a which Wharton has “woven together” to form one continuous history of the earlier episcopates:—

- (a) “*Historia minor*” contains a short catalogue of the bishops from Daniel, the legendary bishop of Congresbury, to bishop Harewell's time, 1367—1386;
- (b) “*Historia major*” is a longer document of the same kind, which begins with Edward the Confessor's time and ends with bishop Bubwith, 1406—1424.

2. Francis Godwin, canon of Wells, bishop of Landaff, 1601, and of Hereford, 1617, was son of Thomas Godwin, bishop of Bath and Wells, 1584—90. Though he had exceptional opportunities for examining the documents in the Wells registers, yet he seems to have been content to follow these same documents which Wharton has printed, varying his form of statement in the different editions of his book, viz., the English edition, “*The Catalogue*,” &c., printed in 1601, and the Latin, “*De Praesulibus Angliae Commentarius*,” printed in 1615—16.

Mr. Hunter has thrown out the conjecture that “the Canon of Wells,” author of the *Historia major* of Wharton, may have been Thomas Chandler, chancellor of Wells, 1454, warden of Winchester, friend of bishop Beckington,^b and afterwards chancellor of Oxford, 1472-79.

But the discovery by Mr. Hunter, in the register of Bath priory, of the manuscript of the time of Henry II., which he printed in 1840 as the *Historiola de Primordiis Episcopatus Sumersetensis*,^c has supplied earlier historical evidence down to the end of bishop Robert's episcopate. And now contemporary documents in the Wells chapter registers, which have lately been made more accessible

^a R. iii. f. 296—302.

^b Rev. J. Hunter *Introduction to Historia*, p. 4, *Eccl. Doc.* Camd. Soc. Publ. 1840.

^c *Eccl. Documents* in Camden Soc. Publications. 1840. *A Brief History of the Bishopric of Somerset, from its foundation to the year 1174*. An extract from the *Registrum Prioratus Bathon.*—a MS. in the Library of the Hon. Society of Lincoln's Inn.

to the student, give additional and contemporary information with regard to bishop Reginald's episcopate.

I propose to sketch the history of bishop Reginald's episcopate, and to show, by the help of these unpublished documents, that there is ground for claiming for bishop Reginald a greater share than has been hitherto allowed him in building up the constitution and fabric of the church of Wells.

PART I.

Bishop Reginald's episcopate.

Bishop Reginald Fitzjocelin de Bohun, and bishop Savaric, his kinsman and successor, were the two last in the succession of foreign bishops who held the see of Somerset from the time of Edward the Confessor. Reginald was of the family of de Bohun, of the Côtentin, the north-west corner of Normandy, where two villages—St. George and St. André de Bohun, near Carentan, in a district of plain and canal like Sedgmoor—still mark the cradle of the family. Richard de Bohun, bishop of Coutances, 1151—1179, was his uncle; his father was Jocelin de Bohun, bishop of Sarum, 1141—1184.

Another member of the family, Engelger de Bohun, is mentioned as one of Henry II.'s evil counsellors who incited Henry against Becket, when at Argentan he uttered the hasty words which led to the murder of the archbishop.*

Into this family married Savaric Fitzchana, son of Ralph, the lord of Beaumont and St. Suzanne, and of Chana, his wife, daughter of Geldewin, a Dane, lord of Saumur. He himself was made lord of Midhurst, in Sussex, by Henry I.

His son, Savaric FitzSavaric, inherited the lands of de Bohun; but, dying childless, he was succeeded in his inheritance by his nephew Franco de Bohun, son of Geldewin FitzSavaric, and his wife Estrangia. Savaric, bishop of Bath, 1192, in succession to his cousin Reginald Fitzjocelin de Bohun, was younger brother of Franco de Bohun.^b

Reginald Fitzjocelin was born about 1140, before his father, the bishop of Sarum, had been admitted to the priesthood, yet so shortly before, that the question could be raised as an objection to his consecration to the episcopate in

* W. FitzStephen, in *Materials for History of Becket*, vol. iii. p. 129, R.S., "Engelgerus de Bohun, quidam inveteratus dierum malorum," gave the counsel, "Let him be crucified."

^b Bishop Stubbs in *Gentleman's Magazine*, Nov. 1863, and Preface to *Epp. Cantuarienses*, p. lxxxvi. note, has supplied materials for genealogies of bishops Reginald and Savaric.

after years. Sufficient testimony was at that time brought forward to satisfy and to remove objections. Either as born of Italian blood, or from early residence in Italy, he bore the name of "the Lombard" or "the Italian." The schools of Lombardy, Pavia, Bologna, Padua, whence had come to Normandy Lanfranc and Anselm, were famous. The towns of Lombardy were asserting their independence of the emperor at this time, and Henry's wide-reaching continental policy, and the foreign marriages of his sons, were bringing Englishmen into close relations with Italians and Germans, as well as French.*

Herbert of Bosham, in his life of St. Thomas, names "Reginald the Lombard" among those attached to the archbishop in his earlier days abroad. Though he laments his defection afterwards, in the time of the archbishop's quarrel with Henry, he describes him at this time as a young man high-spirited, intelligent, prudent beyond his years in council, active and able.^b From the letter of Peter of Blois, archdeacon of Bath, to Reginald, when archdeacon of Sarum, we know that he combined a keen love of hawking with attention to business.^c These qualities would have been likely to have brought the young ecclesiastic into favour with the chancellor in his earlier days.

In 1158 Becket, then chancellor, was sent on an embassy to Paris, with a large suite and much pomp, to arrange the betrothal of Henry's eldest son, then a boy of seven, to Margaret, daughter of Louis VII. The marriage compact was finally completed, not without a quarrel and a reconciliation between the two kings, in 1160.^d Perhaps Reginald joined Becket about this time, and, as Becket's friend, passed into favour at the French court. In 1164 he received from Louis VII. of France a piece of court preferment, succeeding therein the king's brother Philip as abbot of St. Exuperius in Corbeil. The deed of gift, of which

* On Henry's relations with Italy, France, Germany, v. Stubbs' *Pref. to Benedict of Peterborough*, ii. p. xxxi. On Italian affairs of interest in England at this time, v. Stubbs' *Pref. to R. Howden*, ii. p. xcii.

^b Herbert of Bosham names some Lombards among the "eruditi" of Becket's followers, together with Reginaldus Lombardus; Lombardus of Piacenza, afterwards archbishop of Beneventum, Becket's teacher in canon law; Humbert Crivelli, of Milan, afterwards archbishop of Milan, and pope Urban III. in 1185, and others. Herbert thus describes Reginald:—

"Reginaldus natione Anglus, sed sicut educatione et cognomento Lombardus, pro aetate prudens et industrius, animosus et efficax in agendis, qui extra patriam aliquanto tempore nobiscum fortiter stans, cito doloris nostri fuit principium." V. *Materials for Life of Becket*, iii. p. 524.

^c Peter of Blois, Ep. 61. He reminds him when archdeacon of Sarum, "curam non avium sed ovium suscepisti," and warns him of the danger, "si non oves avibus antefertis."

^d R. de Diceto, vol. i. p. 302 (R. S.), an. 1158. They were betrothed 1160, p. 304.

the original is extant among the chapter documents of Wells, entitles him "arch-deacon of Sarum," and recites that the preferment was due both to his own merits and also to the solicitations of his friends—"Donavimus pro honestate suâ, et pro amicorum suorum prece." (See Appendix A.)

The year of his appointment to the abbey of St. Exuperius was the year of the archbishop's quarrel with the king.

On January 25, 1164, the Council of Clarendon was held, and, after the meeting at Northampton, Becket withdrew from England to Pontigny. Bishop Jocelin of Sarum, father of Reginald, had been the leader and spokesman of the bishops in the vain attempt to mediate between the king and the archbishop, and to conciliate the archbishop after the scene at Northampton. He and Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, became thenceforth the objects of Becket's violent hostility, and he excommunicated the two bishops, together with John of Oxford, dean of Sarum, and others of his opponents, from Vézelay, on Whitsun Day, 1166. In this quarrel Reginald took his father's side, and withdrew from Becket's party. Herbert of Bosham laments his defection from the archbishop's cause in his struggle and distress; but speaks kindly of him, and acknowledges that in after years his industry and high principle had marked him out for the episcopate.

Peter of Blois about this time intercedes for Reginald with one of Becket's court, and defends him for having left the archbishop in duty to his father, whom the archbishop had denounced. But Reginald had now taken the king's side. His education, ability, foreign experiences, and conciliatory temperament soon made him one of the most acceptable of Henry's diplomatists at the court of Rome, where the quarrel between two violent and headstrong men was mainly fought out.

In 1167 he was at Rome with John of Oxford, dean of Sarum, and Clarembald, abbot of St. Augustine's, when they obtained from pope Alexander the prohibition to the archbishop against publishing his censures pending the attempt at reconciliation.* He was there again in 1169, and accompanied to England the legates Gratian and Vivian, who were sent to effect the reconciliation;^b and he then incurred Becket's violent abuse for his activity and influence at Rome on the occasion."^c

In 1170, June 14, Roger, archbishop of York, together with the bishops of

* W. FitzStephen, in *Materials for Life of Becket*, iii. 99, R. S.

^b *Ib.* vi. 565, R. S.

^c *Ib.* vii. 59, R. S.

London, Sarum, Durham, and Rochester, crowned the young king Henry in Westminster abbey. The anger of the archbishop and primate blazed out afresh at this violation of the prerogative of the see of Canterbury. A formal reconciliation was effected with the king for a time; but at the close of this year the six years' struggle between king and archbishop reached its tragic end when the archbishop was struck down by his murderers, the four knights* of the court, in the transept of Canterbury cathedral church, December 29th, 1170.

Reaction in favour of the cause of "the martyr" at once set in. Henry, shocked at the outrage and sacrilege, and alarmed at the consequences to his kingdom and to himself, sent at once an embassy to Rome, of men selected as "acceptable to the court of Rome, and well able to plead the king's cause,"^b of whom Reginald, archdeacon of Sarum, was one. The letter to the king reports the result of the mission—they had arrived on Palm Sunday; had been treated with little respect by the cardinals and denied audience by the pope, who was at Frascati; the king's name was execrated; Maundy Thursday, the day of public absolution or excommunication by the pope, was approaching; Henry's excommunication and the interdict of the kingdom of England was threatened. With the greatest difficulty^c they obtained suspension of the interdict, and it had been averted by their pledging themselves that the king would stand to judgment and submit to sentence from the pope. So the interdict was averted; but the excommunication of the murderers and of all concerned was proclaimed. The legates were sent to England or Normandy to receive Henry's submission. The king's purgation and penance at Avranches followed in the next year (May 21, 1172); the canonization of St. Thomas, ordered by the pope, was proclaimed on Ash Wednesday, 1173, and December 29 set apart as the festival of St. Thomas of Canterbury.^d

According to one of the conditions required from Henry by the papal legates,

* Three of the four knights held lands in Somerset: Reginald Fitzurse—Richard Breto—William de Traci.

^b Gervase says (i. 233, R. S.): "misit nuntios spectabiles et admodum loquaces." R. Howden gives the names, vol. ii. p. 26, R. S.: Rotrodus, archbishop of Rouen, who stopped in Normandy; Aegidius bishop of Evreux; Roger bishop of Worcester; Richard de Blosseville, abbot of La Valasse; Reginald archdeacon of Sarum; Richard archdeacon of Lisiens; Richard Barre and Henry Pinchun, clerks. For the letter giving report, v. R. Howden, vol. ii. p. 25.

^c Gervase adds (*ibid.*): "aliam viam supplicandi, more scilicet Romano sunt aggressi—vix tandem quingentis marcis interpositis admissi sunt."

^d Bull for the canonization of St. Thomas, dated March 13, 1173. R. de Diceto, i. 369.

Henry now proceeded to fill up the English sees which he had kept vacant during his quarrel with Becket.

Reginald Fitzjocelin was nominated to the see of Bath, which had been vacant more than eight years, since bishop Robert's death in 1166. He was duly elected by the two chapters, the prior and convent of Bath and the dean and canons of Wells^a in conformity with bishop Robert's provision; and his election was confirmed at the Council of Westminster, in April, 1173. At the same time the sees of Winchester, Ely, Hereford, Chichester, and Lincoln were filled up; and Richard, prior of Dover, the late archbishop's chaplain, was nominated to the archbishopric of Canterbury.

But the young king Henry, under the influence of his father-in-law Louis of France, protested against the nomination of bishops in England without his consent, and lodged an appeal against their consecration at Rome. Reginald was selected to accompany the archbishop-elect to Rome to obtain the pope's confirmation. They started in the autumn of 1173. There were tedious delays and diplomacy with the Roman chancellery; but at last Richard was consecrated archbishop by the pope at Anagni, on Low Sunday, April 7, 1174, and received the pall and his appointment as legate.

The consecration of Reginald and the other bishops-elect was deferred under various pretexts until the return to England.^b

Soon after, they left Rome, on their homeward journey—one which has many points of interest for us. The travellers crossed the passes of Mont Cenis, and stopped for a time at St. Jean de Maurienne, in the territory of the count of Savoy.

It was at this wayside station, on the old road between France and Italy, that Reginald, notwithstanding the delays interposed at Rome, was consecrated bishop of Bath.

The chronicles do not tell us the causes which brought about his consecration. We are left to infer them from concurring circumstances, by which this distant Alpine district was being brought into close connection with England, and with our own diocese in particular.

Henry had been negotiating in 1173 a marriage, for political purposes, between

^a The act of pope Alexander reciting and confirming the joint action of the two chapters is contained in *Chapter Documents* i. 40. Cf. R. i. f. 94; R. iii. f. 266.

^b Howden, ii. 59, v. *Reginaldi Epist. ad regem*, May 5, 1174. He says, "My own consecration and that of the others are deferred. Our lord the pope has determined to settle nothing until reconciliation between you and your son shall be brought to pass."

his son John and the eldest daughter of Umberto, count of Maurienne. Early death in that year saved her from this fate.

In the terms of the marriage settlement, by which certain places commanding the passes of the mountains would have been secured to Henry, Reginald, arch-deacon of Sarum, had been named as one of the arbitrators on the king's side, in case of any change being made in the terms. Some business arising out of these settlements, and the closing of the arrangements, may have caused Reginald's delay at this time at St. Jean de Maurienne.*

The presence of Reginald in these parts was opportune for another purpose which Henry had in view at this moment.

At this time Henry had undertaken to found three religious houses in England, in partial performance of his penance for the violence of his words against Becket. He had enlarged and reconstructed the religious foundations at Ambresbury and Waltham, and changed the religious orders of the inmates; and he was now planting the first house of the Carthusian order in England. The site which he had given was at Witham, on the borders of the royal forest of Selwood, in the diocese of Bath. Henry was seeking a prior for the new house from the parent house of the order, the Great Chartreuse in the "desert of St. Bruno," near Grenoble.

One of the envoys of the count of Savoy had told him of the fame of brother Hugh of Avalon. "Such a man as would not only ensure success to his new foundation, but would fill the whole church with the beauty of his holiness."^b

The Great Chartreuse was within easy reach of St. Jean de Maurienne, and letters were sent to the archbishop and to Reginald, to use all endeavours to induce Hugh to come to England, to take charge of the Carthusian colony at Witham.

The bishop-elect of the diocese in which it was planted was the fit person to invite Hugh in Henry's name, and doubtless it was felt that he would speak with more effect if he were the consecrated bishop. So, with this end in view, as we may conjecture, objections at Rome were overcome, and Reginald's consecration was hastened.

* R. Howden, ii. 41, 45. Cf. Benedict, who gives the document. By the settlements the passes of Mont Cenis, and four castles commanding them, would have been secured to Henry and put into his hands. In November of the same year Frederick Barbarossa entered Italy through the Mont Cenis passes, burnt Susa, and besieged Alexandria, lately built by the Lombard League. Vide Stubbs's *Pref. to Benedict*, p. xvi. on Henry's projects.

^b Vide *Vita S. Hugonis*, p. 54. R. S. Cf. Preface, p. xxi.

Reginald was required to purge himself by oath of any complicity in the murder of St. Thomas. Testimony sufficient was given to establish the legitimacy of his birth. He was consecrated by archbishop Richard and the archbishop Peter of Tarentaise, in the church of St. John, at Maurienne, on the vigil of St. John the Baptist, June 23, 1174.^a

Then, as bishop of Bath, in company with the bishop of Grenoble, he journeyed to the house of the order in the "Eremo" or desert of St. Bruno, enclosed under the pines and crags of the Grand Som and between the torrents of the Guier "Mort," and the Guier "Vif," entering it probably from Grenoble on its south-east side by Sappey and St. Pierre de Chartreuse.

Hugh of Avalon, with much reluctance, and only by order of his bishop, undertook as his mission the charge of the new priory in England; and it was the first act of Reginald's episcopate to bring to England, and to plant in his own diocese of Somerset, Hugh of Witham, known afterwards to the whole church as St. Hugh of Lincoln.

Then the archbishop and bishop Reginald continued their journey to meet Henry in Normandy.^b

In the first days of August they were at St. Lo, in the diocese of his uncle the bishop of Coutances, and in his own country of the Côtentin, and on the 5th of August, 1174, he consecrated the church of St. Thomas at St. Lo, dedicated to the memory of his old master, now the newly-canonized St. Thomas the Martyr.^c

This church, probably the earliest consecrated to the martyr canonized only the year before, and consecrated by the bishop, who had been active against him, son of a bishop whom he had excommunicated, is a monument of the sudden revulsion of feeling which his murder had caused. It is still standing, though long since desecrated; containing architectural signs of the period of its consecration—in the flat semi-Norman pilasters on the outside, in the massive

^a "Juga quoque montium transcendens intra valles Morianae, in ecclesia S. Johannis, et in vigilia S. Joannis Baptistae, Batoniensem electum consecravit, archiepiscopo Tarentasiae praesente, manum etiam apponente; accepta prius purgatione Batoniensis electi, quod mortem beati Thomae neque verbo, neque facto, neque scripto procuravit scienter. Alii juraverunt quod, sicut opinabantur, conceptus fuit priusquam Jocelinus pater suus ad gradum sacerdotii promoveretur. R. de Diceto, i. 391. R.S.

^b Archiepiscopus, Batoniensi comitatus episcopo, Burgundiae promontoria, campestris Galliae, Neustriae littora, cum aliqua remoratione transcendit, pertransiit, attigit. R. de Diceto, i. 391. R.S.

^c The document is preserved in the archives of St. Lo. v. *Somerset Archaeol. Proceedings*, xix. ii. 94.

round columns of the nave, and the apsidal end with six pointed arches resting on the Norman columns.^a

On August 8th they met Henry on the shore at Barfleur (*Barbari fluctus*), just arrived from England after an eventful month. On July 8 he had landed at Southampton from Normandy. He had gone through his three days' humiliating penance at the tomb of St. Thomas at Canterbury. He had crushed rebellion in the midland of England, and, with the king of Scots his prisoner, had now landed at Barfleur within the month.

From thence the archbishop and Reginald crossed to England. The archbishop arrived at Canterbury on September 4, to become a witness of the fire which broke out on the next day, September 5, 1174, in his cathedral church, and burnt the choir to ashes. On October 6th Reginald assisted at the consecration at Canterbury of the bishops of Winchester, Ely, Hereford, and Chichester, and there made his profession of obedience to the primate. On November 24th he was enthroned with much solemnity by the primate in person, who was then making a visitation of his province as "legate of the apostolic see," in his own church.

It would be interesting to know whether Bath or Wells—the church of St. Peter, or the church of St. Andrew—was the scene. Ralph de Diceto says the presence of the legate made the event of the enthronisation especially memorable;^b

^a The nave of the church is about 144 ft. long, by 30 ft. wide, and is divided from aisles 15 ft. wide by six massive Norman columns on each side. Two central columns on each side, larger than the rest, support a tower. Pointed arches rest on the columns.

It is a painful instance of thorough desecration—the nave is boarded over above the arches, and is used as an agricultural hall on market days; the upper part is a theatre approached by a door at the east end, and stairs. Under the later tower arches is the stage of the theatre—there had been a representation there by a travelling company the night before I was there—on Sunday, June 27th, 1886. There were two traditions told to me at St. Lo about the church; one, that it was built by St. Thomas when in exile—the other, that he was at S. Lo while it was building, and being asked to what saint it should be dedicated, replied, "to the first martyr"—after events led them to take this as a prophecy and direction with regard to himself.

^b R. de Diceto, i. 398 (R.S.): *Intronizationem Batoniensis episcopi Dorobernensis archiepiscopus, dum officio fungeretur legationis, visitando provinciam, sua praesentia multo sollempniores effecit, viii.º kalendas Decembris, et futuris reddidit memorialem.*

Archer, *Chron. Wellense*, f. 46, quoting R. de Diceto in support, but, as it appears, incorrectly, assumes Wells to be the scene.

"Ricardus Cantuariensis legationis potestatem exercens provinciam suam visitavit cumque Welliam pervenisset viii. Kal. Dec. die Dominica Reginaldum Batoniensem inthronizavit."

but he does not name the place of the enthronisation. Archer assumes that it took place at Wells, but he does not give any evidence in support.

Bath had been the chief seat of the bishop, *sedes praesulea*, from whence the title was derived since bishop John's time, eighty years ago. Bishop Robert had done much in reasserting the equality of Wells with Bath, but Bath was still recognised by the pope, Adrian IV., in 1157, as the *sedes praesulea*.^a The bishops now, and for some time to come, until 1245, took their title either from Bath alone, or between 1196 and 1219 from Bath and Glastonbury, and the fair conclusion we are forced to draw is, that the legate on this occasion made Bath, as the chief seat of the bishop, the scene of the enthronisation in person, though, no doubt, the bishop was enthroned in both his churches, and perhaps by the legate also, in Wells.^b

In the earlier years of his episcopate, bishop Reginald appears as one of Henry's counsellors in the chief national councils of the reign.^c

^a R. iii. f. 268, 289—293. Confirmation of possessions of Bath abbey, by Adrian IV.

Bishop Reginald had been chosen by the joint action of the two chapters of Bath and Wells. R. i. f. 94. R. iii. f. 266. Cf. Doc. 1, 40.

^b The contemporary documentary evidence is clear and consistent, that the title of the see from bishop John, 1088, to bishop Roger, 1244, was either "Bath" alone, or, between 1196—1219, "Bath and Glastonbury." On the other hand, we have the statement of the "Canon of Wells," writing in bishop Bubwith's time, in the 15th century, "that bishop Robert obtained from the pope a decree that the bishop's seat should be in both churches, that the bishop should be enthroned in both his churches, and that the name of Bath should be placed first in the bishop's style." But this statement is not supported by the *Historia Minor*, nor by early documents in the Wells registers.

Archer, *Chronicon Wellense*, f. 29, had long ago corrected Wharton and Godwin. As to the date of the first assumption of the title "Bath and Wells," he says, "Canonicus noster et Godwinus quin et ipse Whartonus haud satis perspicue rem narrant—Nullus etenim episcoporum Bathoniensis et Wellensis nuncupatus est a prima sedis translatione per Johannem Turonensem facta usque ad annum 1244." Roger was consecrated at Reading, Sept. 11, 1244, by the title of Bath and Wells, "ad instantiam Domini Papae." But he kept the old title of bishop of Bath on his seal. Pope Innocent writes to him from Lyons, May 14, 1245, "We hear from the dean and chapter of Wells that you resist our ordinance. We now enjoin you to call yourself bishop of Bath and Wells, and so to describe yourself on your seal." Vide Vatican Transcripts in the British Museum, Additional MS. 15353, vol. v. f. 235. Cf. R. i. f. 93—96. The subject has been elaborated in two articles in *The Genealogist* for July and October, 1885, *First Bishop of Bath and Wells*.

^c (1) During Henry's reign—from 1174 to 1189.

Bishop Reginald at Westminster, May 18, 1175.	Howden, ii. 72.
" at Woodstock, July 1	" ii. 78.
" at London, March 16, 1177.	" ii. 120, 131.
" at Toulouse " 1178.	" ii. 151, 165.
" at the Lateran Council, March, 1179.	" ii. 171, 189.

He was present at the Council of Westminster in 1175, at which acts were passed to repress clerical scandals. At the Council of London, in 1177, he was one of the signatories to the award in which Henry adjudicated on the rival claims of the kings of Navarre and Castille. In 1178, he was one of a joint commission, appointed at the request of the count of Toulouse by Henry and Louis VII. of France, to inquire into the heretical teaching of the sect of the Cathari, who were established in formidable numbers in the country round Toulouse and Albi, and became afterwards known under the name of the Albigenses. Bishop Reginald had for his colleagues on this occasion, Peter, the papal legate, the archbishops of Bourges and Narbonne, the bishop of Poitiers, and the abbot of Clairvaux. They held their court of inquiry at Toulouse, and reported in condemnation of the heretical teaching of the sectaries. In the next year Reginald was one of four English bishops^a sent as representatives to the Lateran council, summoned by Alexander III., March 1179, at which, among other acts of historical importance, the Albigenses sectaries were condemned and excommunicated. He returned from the council with a deed of confirmation from the pope, his friend Alexander III., dated March 4, 1179, confirming the rights and possessions of the see.^b

During the next ten years of Henry's reign he does not appear much in public affairs. On the death of his friend archbishop Richard, in 1184, he strongly supported the king's nomination of Baldwin bishop of Worcester to the primacy, against the claims of the convent of Christchurch to have the sole appointment, and afterwards he was influential in conciliating the monks to accept Baldwin.

(2) During Richard's reign, 1189—1191.

Bishop Reginald was present at Richard's coronation			
at Westminster	Sept. 3, 1189.	Howden, iii. 8.	
At the Council at Pipewell	Sept. 15, 1189.	„ iii. 14.	
At Canterbury	Nov. 26, 1189.	R. iii. f. 13.	
At the Council in Normandy	March, 1190.	Howden, iii. 32.	
He mediated at "the peace of Winchester,"	April 25, 1191		
		R. of Devizes, p. 33, § 42.	
" " " " " "	July 28, 1191.	Howden, iii. 135.	
He was at the Chancellor Longchamp's trial,	Oct. 1191.	„ iii. 145.	
Nominated Primate, at Canterbury,	Nov. 26, 1191.	„ iii. 168.	
His death took place, at Dogmersfield,	Dec. 27, 1191.	Gervase, <i>Opera Hist.</i> i. 512, R.S.	

^a The other bishops at the Lateran Council were Hugh bishop of Durham; John of Oxford, bishop of Norwich; Robert Ffolliott, bishop of Hereford.

^b This document is quoted later. See Appendix D.

In the dispute which followed between the archbishop and his monks he was appointed one of the pope's commissioners in 1187. After Baldwin's death these events led on to his nomination to the vacant primacy in the last year of his life.

(a.) *Bishop Reginald in his diocese.*

During these years of his episcopate, 1174—1191, bishop Reginald was doing good work in his diocese, and they were years of diocesan life and progress.

Church building was going on around him and under his eye at Bath, at Glastonbury, at Witham, and in other religious houses in the diocese, and gifts and endowments were being made to the cathedral church of Saint Andrew in Wells. It was his policy to carry on bishop Robert's work and constitution at Wells, to make Wells the headquarters and centre of the diocese, and to give it a fabric and a ministrant body worthy of the dignity of the cathedral church of the diocese. He resided at Wells—there is no evidence that he ever resided at Bath. Yet Bath was not neglected—the hospital of St. John Baptist, by which the sick and poor of the city had the benefit of the hot waters, was founded by him in 1180, and endowed with lands and tenements in Bath and its neighbourhood, and with a tithe of hay from his demesne lands. It was put under the control and management of prior Walter and the convent of Bath, who also gave their endowments.

Walter the prior, a man of learning and holy life, was a contemporary and friend of bishop Reginald.^a Elected in 1175, he was with him in his last hours, when dying at Dogmersfield.

The register of the priory of Bath contains a list of gifts made by the bishop to the convent, of lands and churches, of ornaments and vestments, of a statue of St. Peter, and also, strange to read, of the body of St. Euphemia, virgin and martyr. He also enriched their library with many books.^b

At Witham, between 1180 and 1186, prior Hugh was at work laying the foundations of his Charterhouse, with a small band of French monks, meanly lodged, and endeavouring to support themselves under severe and ascetic discipline, in the desert of Witham. The chapel of the friary, some remains of which in the transitional-Norman style are to be seen still in the parish church, and the necessary buildings for thirteen monks and about the same number of lay brethren, were finished, and the order and discipline of the house was organised before prior Hugh was taken to be bishop of Lincoln in 1186.

^a "Vir multae scientiae et religionis," A. S. 585.

^b See Appendix B.

The house became the home of those who sought a severer discipline amidst the growing laxity of other monastic houses. Walter, prior of Bath, and Robert, prior of St. Swithun's, were two of those who entered the house late in life.^a Sometimes it was found too severe a life for those who had entered it without counting the cost.^b Walter left it again before his death. It was the home of retreat year by year for Saint Hugh when he came from Lincoln to take up again the simple life of a monk in his cell at Witham.

The bishop, who had been the instrument to bring Hugh of Avalon to England, continued to support his work in the diocese. The king's charter was granted at Marlborough. A chapel had stood in the "Eremo," the desert of Witham on the outskirts of Selwood forest, belonging to the priory of Bruton. The king gave to Bruton the rectory of South Petherton in exchange, and exchanges of land were made with the Witham owners.

The house was dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin and St. John Baptist. The king granted lands which afterwards became the parish of Witham, and lands on Mendip for a cell of the Charterhouse near Cheddar. The house was exempted from all ecclesiastical visitations and imposts; from all claims of sheriffs and officers of the forest. Bishop Reginald on his part, "cum consensu capituli Wellensis," granted exemption from tithes and dues to the Charterhouse in the parish of Cheddar.^c

Other religious houses were growing up at the time in the diocese.

The abbey of St. Mary at Glastonbury, the great rival ecclesiastical power which had hitherto overshadowed the church of Wells, separated from it by six miles of moorland, was soon about to go through a period of disaster and humiliation.

^a Richard of Devizes, the chronicler of the "*Gesta Ricardi*," 1189—92, a monk of St. Swithun's, paid a visit there to his late prior, to whom he dedicated his Chronicle, "to see how much nearer to Heaven was the Charterhouse at Witham than the Priory of St. Swithun." He bears his witness to the greater severity of discipline there, not without a touch of sceptical sarcasm. "Robertus prior S. Swithini Wintoniae, prioratu relicto et professione postposita, apud Witham, dolore, (an dicam devotione?) deiecit se in sectam Cartusiae. Walterus prior Bathoniae prius ibidem simili fervore vel furore praesumserat, sed semel extractus nihil minus videtur adhuc quam de reditu cogitare." R. of Devizes, p. 26, § 30. See also the Prologue.

^b *Reg. Prior. Bath*, ff. 315, 316.

^c Henry's grant is recited in a confirmation to the prior and convent of Witham by Innocent IV. in 1246, in which the boundaries of the land are set out. Vatican Transcripts in the British Museum. Add. MS. 15355. vol. v. ff. 374—381.

But under bishop Reginald's episcopate there were friendly negotiations and territorial exchanges and mutual concessions.

Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester, who ruled the abbey for more than forty years, 1125-1171, had lately died. Robert, prior of Winchester, succeeded. By an arrangement with abbot Robert, the church of Pilton was ceded to the bishop to form two prebends in the cathedral church, of which the abbot held one, without obligation of residence, but bound to pay three marcs to a vicar. The canon appointed by the bishop to the second prebend received ten marcs from Pilton. The abbot thus became a member of the bishop's chapter, and the Glastonbury writers deplore the advantage obtained over the abbey by this arrangement, whereby the bishop received the acknowledgment of jurisdiction from the abbot, as one of the canons of his cathedral church.^a

At the same time, to put an end to a long-standing controversy between the abbey and the church of Wells, the bishop granted the abbot a separate territorial jurisdiction, to be held by a special officer (the abbot's archdeacon) over the churches which were in the twelve hides of Glastonbury.^b The church of South Brent, which had belonged to Glastonbury, was ceded to the archdeacon of Wells, in lieu of seven churches of the Glastonbury archdeaconry, which the archdeacon of Wells had claimed, and it has ever since remained appropriated to the archdeaconry of Wells, and in its patronage. The church of Huish, near Langport, was also annexed to the archdeaconry of Wells by bishop Reginald.^c

Great building work had been going on at Glastonbury under bishop Henry of Blois—the builder of St. Cross near Winchester, founder of Romsey abbey, and refounder of Taunton priory. Abbot Robert carried on the work until his death in 1178. Then the abbey was held by the king, and put into commission to Peter de Marci, a Cluniac monk, as administrator of the revenues during the vacancy. While the abbey was in the king's hands, on St. Urban's day, May 25, 1184, a fire destroyed the whole of the abbey buildings of Henry de Blois, and only a new chamber, which had been built by abbot Robert, with its chapel, and the great bell-tower, remained.^d

^a R. i. f. 24, lxxix. f. 25, lxxv. Cf. Adam of Domerham, i. 235; ii. 351.

^b The abbey had claimed exemption for the churches of the twelve hides from all local jurisdiction secular and spiritual, under a pretended charter of king Ine.

The exempt jurisdiction was now conceded, and the jurisdiction of the abbot over the churches made equal to a separate and exempt archdeaconry.

^c Reginald's grant v. Adam of Dom. ii. 345.

^d Adam of Dom. ii. 333.

Henry, grieved at the loss sustained by the Church while the abbey was in his hands, undertook to rebuild the church, and committed the work to Ralph Fitzstephen, the chancellor, to spend all the available resources of the convent on the fabric. A charter was given by Henry, December 1184, in which he made himself and his heirs responsible for the fitting restoration. The work was of national interest, the revenues of vacant benefices were applied to the work, and a charge was laid upon certain churches in support. Ralph Fitzstephen is described as munificent in his gifts, and the royal treasury supplied what was required. A great store of relics of saints and worthies buried at Glastonbury was now displayed; and the timely discovery or invention about this time of the bones of Arthur and his queen, and the publication of the Arthurian legend, helped to draw a large concourse of pilgrims, and brought much gain of money to the abbey.

So rapidly grew the work, that in the second or third year after the fire, "on St. Barnabas day, 1186,"^a or 1187,^b bishop Reginald dedicated the new church of St. Mary on the spot where the old church, the "*vetusta ecclesia*," had stood. At the same time the foundations were laid, and the building commenced, of "the great church," "*major ecclesia*," 400 feet in length and 80 feet in breadth. But with the death of Henry, in 1189, the works were stopped—until 1235. "King Richard's mind was more directed to military affairs than to the building which was begun, so the work was stopped because there was no one to pay the workmen."^c Soon after began the great war with Wells, under bishop Savaric, continued under bishop Jocelin until 1219, in which the revenues of the abbey were consumed by litigation at Rome. No building was carried on again until 1235; and a whole century intervened before the next consecration of the church, then only partially built, on the day of St. Thomas the Martyr, 1303.^d

So far we have followed out bishop Reginald's history, as it is connected with the general history of the time, and described in the chronicles of Henry the Second's reign.

^a Adam of Dom. ii. 335, describes the work, but does not give the year of consecration, "*Ecclesiam Sanctae Mariae in loco quo primitus vetusta steterat ex lapidibus quadris opere speciosissimo consummavit, nichil ornatus in ea praetermittens.*" John of Glastonbury (i. 180) names the year thus indefinitely, "*quam dedicavit Reginaldus, tunc Bathoniae episcopus, anno Domini millesimo centesimo octogesimo circiter sexto die S. Barnabae.*"

^b Mr. Parker says, "more probably 1187." S.A.P. vol. xxvi. 28.

^c Adam of Dom. ii. 341.

^d John of Glast. i. 255.

(b.) Bishop Reginald at Wells.

But we turn to our own local documents, and to the history lurking in the unprinted manuscripts at Wells, to learn more particularly what was going on at Wells during bishop Reginald's episcopate.

Wells was the bishop's seat all through his time, until his translation to Canterbury in the last days of his life.

The charters of his time show his care to tread in the footsteps of his predecessor, and to carry on bishop Robert's policy at Wells: (a) by confirming and increasing the privileges of the town; (b) by adding to the number of the prebends, and increasing the permanent endowment of the stalls; (c) by provision for the building of the fabric of the church.

The municipal history of Wells is ancient and interesting. Its early charters are of especial value, as showing the relation of the town to the bishop, and the growth of the town around the cathedral church.

Two charters to the city by bishop Reginald stand at the head of these contemporary records, and are of general as well as local interest.

Early in his episcopate, certainly before 1180, as the names of the attesting witnesses show, bishop Reginald gave two charters to the town.

In the first of these he recites the charter of his predecessor, bishop Robert; and, desiring to follow the footsteps of his venerable predecessor, and at the request of the burgesses, he confirms with further grants their privileges then conferred. (Appendix C.)

Bishop Robert had forbidden markets to be held in the precincts of the cathedral church, because the tumult of the buyers and sellers interrupted the devotion of the worshippers, and made the house of God a den of hucksterers; and he ordered their removal to the open spaces of the town. At the same time, also, he granted to the citizens fairs with freedom from tolls on three festival times in the year, viz. on the eves and festivals of (a) the Invention of the Holy Cross; (b) the feast of St. Calixtus; (c) the feast of St. Andrew.

Bishop Reginald, in his confirmation of this charter, granted three additional days, viz. the morrow of each of these festivals. He also granted to the burgesses one moiety of the profits arising from the hiring of stalls, which belonged to him as lord.

In the second charter, referring again to the example and the charter of his predecessor, he grants that the town of Wells shall be a free borough; that every

one dwelling within its limits and possessing a messuage in the name of a burgage should have freedom of dwelling, going, and coming; also of mortgaging, selling, and granting their houses, except to houses of religion. He reserves to the bishop the payment of twelve pence a year out of every house in the borough; forbids sale of raw skins, or hides, within the limits of the borough; grants authority to hold a court for settlement of disputes, and for civil and criminal trials, except in cases where deadly wounds or injuries for life had been inflicted, without any fee to the bishop's justices. He reserves to the bishop right of appeal, and right to interfere or revise the sentence of the burgesses if they failed to do justice.*

These charters, two of a series of municipal charters, beginning with bishop Robert, confirmed and amplified by bishop Reginald, and afterwards by bishop Savaric, the lords of the manor of Wells, and confirmed by king John, 1202, illustrate the peculiar position and character of Wells as the ecclesiastical city growing up around the church, which Mr. Freeman has described so fully in his history of the cathedral church and elsewhere: "Wells stands alone among the cities of England proper as a city, which exists only in and through its cathedral church, whose whole history is that of its cathedral church Unlike other cities, it has its municipal history; but its municipal history is simply an appendage to its ecclesiastical history: the franchises of the borough were simply held as grants from the bishop."

They have a further and subsidiary interest as setting out before us the names and designations of the representatives of the ecclesiastical corporation, of the townspeople and their trades, of the owners of land in the neighbourhood, the names of the farms and villages, at the time contemporary with these bishops of the twelfth century.

Bishop Reginald gathers round him the officers and canons of his cathedral church, the landlords and the burgesses and townsfolk, to witness to the charter of purchase, which, as lord of the manor, he freely bestows upon them. At the same time, as their lord, he reserves to the bishop the right of administering justice and reviewing the sentences of the town magistrates.

In the first of these charters, given before 1166, occur the names of the first officers of the newly constituted chapter, as witnesses to bishop Robert's charter: Ivo the dean; Reginald the precentor, nephew of the late bishop John of Tours; and archdeacons Robert and Thomas.

In bishop Reginald's charter, between 1174-1180, there are the names of the

* See Appendix C.

second generation of officers of the cathedral chapter: there is another dean, Richard of Spakeston (Spaxton on the Quantock) 1160-1180; another precentor, Hildebert or Albert, 1174-1185; another archdeacon, Richard of Bath, with title of local jurisdiction; William the treasurer; Robert the sub-dean: there are the canons Ralph of Lechlade, afterwards archdeacon of Bath, and dean, 1216-1220; William canon of Haselbury; and Peter of Winchester, afterwards chancellor, 1185.

In both charters of bishop Reginald we meet with the first mention of a name which was to be more known and honoured than any in the history of Wells, Jocelin, the chaplain, the future bishop.*

A large number of names representing the neighbouring landowners and the townsfolk of Wells sign on this memorable occasion in the early life of the city, when canons and clerks, burgesses and tenants, were called together by the bishop, their lord, to receive this first deed of city incorporation. (See Appendix C.)

We gather from other charters in the Wells registers, and the attestations to documents belonging to bishop Reginald's time, the names of some more of his contemporaries in the diocese and in the chapter.

* The family of bishop Jocelin can be traced in the documents of the time, *e. g.*

Certificate by bishop Rainaud, that Walter Pistor of Bath had sold land at Lanferley, to Edward de Wellis and to Hugh his heir for five marcs of silver.

The original grant made to Walter by the late bishop Robert had been burnt—the fee is surrendered at the Hundred Court.

Witnesses: Ralph of Lechlade, archdeacon of Bath; Richard, archdeacon of Coutances; Robert of Geldeford; Robert of St. Lo (de Sancto Laudo); Joceline, chaplain; John of St. Lo; Godfrid the Frenchman, and others. Bishop Reginald was keeping up his connection with his uncle's diocese of Coutances.—*Chap. Doc. i. 9.*

In *Chap. Doc. i. 10.* Inspeximus of grant by Ralph de Wilton of all his land in Wells to Edward de Wellis for 10 shillings annually, and a present of 50 shillings, and to Wimarc his wife a gold brooch, and 6 pence each to two of his sons. Witness to the original grant: Ralph of Lechlade; Alexander, subdean; Robert Fitzpane, sheriff of Somerset. Witnesses to the Inspeximus: William of Welesley; Alexander, subdean; Jocelin, chaplain; Peter de Winton, Mathias de Winton, &c.

In other documents we find the names of Sarum dignitaries; *e. g.* R. i. f. 36.

Agreement between bishop Reginald and William son of Richard of Melbury (Mauleberg) about 7 acres near the wood of Wokirole, and a meadow of 5 acres near Poulesham is witnessed by representatives of the Wells and Salisbury chapters; bishop Joceline of Sarum; Walter, the precentor of Sarum; Thomas, archdeacon of Wells; Baldwin, chancellor of Sarum; Ralph of Lechlade; Robert of Geldeford; Jocelin, chaplain; Stephen of Tor, canon of Wells, and others.

In another document, *Chap. Doc. i. 13*, among the witnesses occur the names of Edward of Wells, Hugh son of Edward, Jocelin his brother, together with Alexander the dean, Thomas the subdean, William of Dinr (Dinder), William of Weleslia.

The names appear, *nomina tantum* for the most part, of the several dignitaries—dean, precentor, chancellor, treasurer, the three archdeacons of Wells, Bath, and Taunton, subdean, succentor. Two deans were living through his episcopate: Richard of Spakeston, from 1160 to 1180; Alexander, from 1180 until the third year of bishop Jocelin, 1209.

Two archdeacons, Thomas of Wells, and Peter of Blois, archdeacon of Bath, appear in the history of the time as taking part in public events beyond the diocese.

Thomas Agnellus, archdeacon of Wells, is identified as the preacher of the funeral sermon on the death of the young king Henry, in 1183, which bishop Stubbs quotes,^a as showing that the young king Henry was looked upon as a champion of the old regime against the reforming tendencies of the father.

Peter of Blois, archdeacon of Bath, 1175—1190, is the learned rhetorician and theologian, and letter writer and literary adventurer, who was known to all the leading men of the day, an active political agent in Henry's court, and at the Roman Curia, of Henry against Becket—of Baldwin against the monks of Canterbury, but changing sides after Baldwin's death. In his letters,^b he appears as archdeacon of Bath before Reginald's appointment to the bishopric; he anticipates Reginald's preferment, and warns him of the responsibilities; he defended Reginald for taking the side of his father in the quarrel with Becket. In after years he complained to Reginald, as bishop, of his severity in enforcing discipline upon his deputy in the archdeaconry for nonpayment of a debt. He appears to have been put out of the archdeaconry with some disgrace, but in 1192 he was archdeacon of London,^c and died about 1200.

William of St. Faith, a witness to bishop Robert's charter before 1166, was precentor in 1187. In that year the precentor of Wells and the archdeacon of Bath were at Rome working on Baldwin's side against the monks of Canterbury, while their bishop was the pope's commissary in England, and supporting the monks against Baldwin.^d

The latter part of the twelfth century, the strong reign of Henry II., following the lawlessness and anarchy of Stephen's reign, was marked by an outburst of zeal and liberality towards the church and objects of religious veneration.

It was a time of foundation and endowment of monastic houses, and of prebends for secular canons in cathedral churches.

^a Pref. to R. of Howden, ii. p. lvii.

^b *Epistolae Petri Blesensis*, i. Ep. 62, 58, 149.

^c R. de Diceto, i. Pref. lxxix.

^d *Epist. Cantuar.* cxxxv., p. 107. Ep. ccciv.

The registers of the chapter of Wells contain many deeds of gifts of land and churches from clergy and laity made to the church of Wells during bishop Reginald's time. These gifts were employed by the bishop in council with his chapter, in augmenting the common fund of the chapter, or in endowing prebends, or in the maintenance of the fabric.

In this, he was following the action of his predecessor, bishop Robert, and the example of other well-governed churches. The estate of the chapter and canons had been made by bishop Robert distinct from the personal estate of the bishop. The property of the cathedral body was thus secured from the grasp of the crown during the vacancy of the see, and from lapsing into private hands, as had occurred during bishop John's episcopate.

The funds given to the cathedral church were divided into a common fund for the support of the resident officers of the chapter, and prebends were endowed for the support of the several canons of the church.

These deeds of gift were confirmed by bishop and chapter, by king and pope, to secure their permanent validity. Charters of confirmation of the rights and possessions of the see occur frequently at this time, and serve as compendious summaries of the gradual growth of the possessions of the see during bishop Reginald's episcopate.

They also show incidentally the state of insecurity as to rights of property, and the care taken by the bishop to obtain the highest legal sanction for the rights and possessions of his cathedral church.

There are six such charters of confirmation in the chapter registers of the time—

1. By pope Alexander III. in 1176, given at the request, (*pro postulationibus*), of dean Richard and the canons of Wells. (R. ii. f. 46.)
2. By pope Alexander III. in 1179, given to bishop Reginald at the Lateran Council. (R. iii. f. 266.) (See Appendix D.)
3. By king Henry II. in 1185, at Argentan, confirming former royal grants to Bath and to the see. (R. i. f. 15, 16.; cf. iii. f. 333.)
4. By bishop Reginald, of gifts made to the see in the early part of his episcopate before 1180. (R. i. f. 24; cf. iii. f. 10.)
5. By king Richard I. Nov. 26, 1189, confirming royal grants of his predecessors, with special confirmation to bishop Reginald of an agreement with regard to his land at Dynre (Dinder), and grant of the park at Dogmersfield. (R. i. f. 15, 16; cf. iii. 333.)

6. By king Richard I. at the same date, in the first year of his reign, confirming to bishop Reginald the possessions of the see acquired during his episcopate. (R. iii. f. 13 in dors.)
7. By pope Clement III. in 1190. (R. iii. f. 260.)

The two charters most valuable, as illustrating the history of the diocese at this time, are the charters (1) of pope Alexander in 1176, at the beginning of bishop Reginald's episcopate, and (2) of king Richard I. in 1189, thirteen years after, and two years before bishop Reginald's death:—

1. The charter of pope Alexander III., brought back by bishop Reginald from Rome after his attendance at the Lateran Council in 1179, is very full in recapitulation of all the possessions and rights of the see, and also of the bishop's jurisdiction and relation to the great religious houses in his diocese. The bishop has the power of removing the prior of Bath for sufficient reasons, after consultation with the chapter, "or other religious men;" no church or oratory may be erected in the diocese without the bishop's sanction; his rights of authority and jurisdiction over religious houses and churches within the diocese are generally but vaguely defined, with reservation of appeal to the pontifical legate or the Roman court; he has authority to compel attendance at his synod of abbots and priors; none are to officiate in the diocese without his permission; if any monks, or other religious men, clerks or laymen, present themselves or are presented to benefices without the bishop's consent, he may remove them.

2. The charter of Richard I. in the first year of his reign, on the eve of setting out for the Holy Land, November 26th, 1189, presents a summary of the gifts which had been made to the church during bishop Reginald's episcopate of fifteen years, by which sixteen prebends were founded in the cathedral church, and other grants and privileges were bestowed. (See Appendix E.)

Additional privileges of a special character were also granted by the crown at this time: (a) the right of keeping hounds, which his predecessors in the see held, but with fuller privileges of hunting through the *whole* of Somerset, roe and fallow deer only excepted. This was a privilege which, in mitigation of the extreme rigour of the forest laws, as enforced by Henry I., must have been a great boon to his predecessors, and which, from his earlier sporting tastes, bishop Reginald would have been fully able to appreciate. He conferred also, at this time, (b) the more important and permanent benefit to the see of rights of mining for lead (*mineram de plumbo*) throughout all the bishop's lands, and probably, in connexion with this, (c) the power to create a borough and hold market in his land at Radclive, *terra sua de Radeclive*, described in R. iii. f. 266, as also

“the Portus of Radeclive,” in the manor of Compton Episcopi and Axbridge—perhaps a “hithe,” or wharf, at the head of the tideway on the Axe, for the exportation of the lead ore of Mendip.*

But the list in Richard’s charter of confirmation does not exhaust the grants made to the church at this time. In the border country of the west of Somerset were the family lands of three of the knights who had struck down Becket in his cathedral church at Canterbury. The Tracy family had given Bovey in Devonshire to the church. Simon Brito, or le Bret, of Samford Bret, now gave the church of St. Decumans, on the headland overlooking the western channel, for a prebend in the church of St. Andrew in Wells, and Robert Fitzurse, of Willetton, in the same beautiful valley under the Quantock hills as Samford Bret, endowed St. Decumans with twenty acres of land, and gave land to a manse for a chaplain to serve a chapel at Willetton, in the parish of St. Decumans.^b

In the same district, on the borders of Exmoor, William de Romara, earl of Lincoln, founder of Cleeve abbey in 1188, gave the church of Old Cleeve^c to bishop Reginald; and the church of Wynesford,^d on the Upper Exe, a few miles above the Augustinian priory of Barlynch, was given by the lady Alicia de Roges.

These documents show how the constitution and property of the church was built up at this time, under bishop Reginald’s rule. I reserve for a second part of this paper, notice of those documents which relate to the maintenance of the fabric, and for the consideration of the share which bishop Reginald may have had in the building of the church.

Before closing the general history of his episcopate, it is necessary to notice the events of the two last years of his life, in which he passed from Wells to Canterbury.

Between the year after his return from the Lateran Council in 1179, and Henry’s death in 1189, bishop Reginald does not appear much in public affairs.

These quiet years of his episcopate had formed an important period in the history of the diocese. Henry II., his old master, who had trusted and employed him on important occasions, died at Chinon on the Loire, July 6, 1189.

* *Ratcliffe* in Stuckey’s map, on the Axe, which is navigable so far—*Ratley* in Greenwood’s map, in Compton; it is *Ripley* in Ordnance map.

^b S. Decuman, i. f. 40, Carta Simonis Brito; i. f. 39, Carta Roberti fil. Ursi; i. f. 38, Confirmatio Reginaldi Episcopi, teste Alexandro Decano.

^c Cleeve, R. iii. f. 382.

^d Wynesford, R. i. f. 59; R. iii. f. 351.

- A time of restless excitement, of foreign adventure, and political struggles at home, followed upon Richard's accession. Reginald, as one of the friends and counsellors of Henry, took a leading part in the first events of his son's reign.

He appears to have been drawn away from his diocese into the political and ecclesiastical intrigues of the court.

Whether justly or not, he incurs the suspicion of having aimed at the chancellorship, and of secretly intriguing for the primacy.

On September 3, 1189, he assisted at the coronation of Richard at Westminster. It was a scene of unusual pomp. In the coronation procession to and from the church, and to and from the altar, Hugh bishop of Durham on the right, and Reginald bishop of Bath on the left hand, walked by the side of Richard.^a Four barons bore over them a silken canopy supported on four tall lances, and the company of earls, barons, knights, clergy and laity followed in long procession. After Richard had made the coronation oaths, he was anointed and crowned by archbishop Baldwin, the archbishops of Dublin, Rouen, and Trèves assisting;^b and enthroned by the two bishops of Durham and Bath.

After this, Reginald was at the council of Pipewell abbey, on September 15, when the appointments to the chief offices and vacant bishoprics were made by Richard. The see of Ely and the chancellorship were then given to William Longchamp.

Richard, intent upon an immediate start for the Holy Land, was selling the offices of state, and making conveyances of crown lands, and castles, and towns to the highest bidders. All who could were buying rights and privileges, offices and benefices; "not only to the confirmation of their own, but to the usurpation of their neighbours' rights"—"*et caeteri, quicunque volebant, emebant a rege tam sua quam aliena jura.*"^c

It is assumed, on a statement of Richard of Devizes, that Reginald made a high bid of 4000*l.* for the chancellorship, which Richard gave to William Long-

^a Deinde venit Ricardus dux Normanniae, et Hugo Dunelmensis Episcopus a dextris illius ibat et Reginaldus Batoniensis Episcopus a sinistris illius ibat, et umbraculum sericum portabatur inter illos. Et omnis turba comitum et baronum et militum et aliorum, tam clericorum quam laicorum sequebatur usque in atrium ecclesiae et sic usque in ecclesiam ad altare. *Benedict*, ii. 81.

^b It was a mark of honour to the see, and perhaps also in this case to the man. Brompton, writing at the close of the thirteenth century (f. 1158-9) says, "Atque istud privilegium etiam hodie praesules Dunelmenses et Bathonienses sibi vendicant." Savaric, as bishop of Bath, took this same place at the coronation of John.

^c Vide Howden, vol. iii. 29, for a list of some of the state offices sold by the king at this time.

champ, though he paid for it 1000*l.* less—"Willielmus Eliensis electus, datis tribus millibus libris argenti, sigillum regis sibi retinuit, licet Reginaldus Italus quartum millerium superobtulerit."^a On the strength of this unsupported statement, a charge is brought against Reginald of selfish ambition. Undoubtedly, at such a time only such men as St. Hugh of Lincoln, as St. Anselm in earlier times, could pass through kings' courts and papal chancelleries without taint, or suspicion at least, of worldliness and corruption. Whether he was tempted to offer a high price for the chancellorship or not is doubtful. But it is certain that at this time Reginald was employing his money for the benefit of the diocese in buying from the king confirmations of all the possessions and privileges of the see, and the grant of the manor of North Curry; a costly purchase, which he made over to the canons of his cathedral church.

Reginald was a man who mixed in the world, but he does not seem to have been covetous or personally ambitious as compared with his contemporaries, such as Hugh of Durham, Hugh Nonant of Coventry, and the chancellor Longchamp. He appears to have been pushed forward into prominent positions, and employed by others as a counsellor and an arbitrator trusted by both sides, rather than a self-seeking intriguer for high places. In 1191 he was twice employed as one of the arbitrators in the quarrel between the chancellor Longchamp and earl John at the pacification of Winchester, April 25; and again, between the chancellor and the rebellious sheriff of Lincoln, Gerard de Camville, July 28. He was one of those who opposed the chancellor for his high-handed treatment of Geoffrey; but he took no prominent part in his trial and humiliation in October, 1191.

It was probably his unaggressive, conciliatory line of conduct, which led to his election to the vacant primacy, rather than any secret intrigues on his part.

A struggle had been going on since 1187 between archbishop Baldwin and his chapter, the prior and monks of the cathedral church at Canterbury.

Reginald had been forward in supporting Baldwin as the king's nominee, and in conciliating the monks to accept him, in 1184. But now, when it may reasonably have appeared that the archbishop was using his authority arbitrarily, he did

^a R. of Devizes. *De rebus gestis Ricardi*, p. 9, § 10, ed. Stevenson. Bishop Stubbs and others assume that bishop Reginald is the person here so named; elsewhere, Richard of Devizes calls him by his ordinary title, *Episcopus Bathoniensis*.

At the same time Hugh, bishop of Durham, paid for the office of justiciar 1,000 marcs; for the earldom of Northumberland, 2,000; and 600 for the manor of Sedbergh. The king, "decem millia libras argenti de scriniis ejus diligenter extraxit." R. of Devizes, p. 8, § 9.

not shrink from opposition to the king, and from taking the unpopular side of the convent. St. Hugh of Lincoln was on the same side afterwards.*

The immediate subject of dispute was the foundation by the archbishop, out of some of the funds of the cathedral chapter, of a college and church of secular canons at Hackington, near Canterbury. The project gave much offence to the monks, who thought they saw in it, what was probably the intention, a desire to supplant them in their position as metropolitan chapter, and to substitute a body of secular canons (out of their revenue) who would be more amenable to the primate.

They naturally resisted what in their view must have appeared an act of usurpation and arbitrary authority on the part of their abbot, the archbishop.

The king supported the archbishop; the courtiers, for the most part, went with him. The convent appealed to the pope. The pope, Urban III. in October, 1187, took up the cause of the convent, and appointed a commission, consisting of Reginald bishop of Bath, Seffred bishop of Chichester, and the abbots of Feversham and Reading, ordering them to destroy the building.

With the death of Urban III. in 1187, proceedings were suspended. Henry died in July 1189. A new reign began in England. The quarrel was arranged for a time; and archbishop Baldwin went on the Crusade with Richard.

Baldwin's death at Acre was known in England in March 1191.

The monks used the opportunity of the vacancy in the see to overthrow the scheme of the late archbishop, and to secure to themselves the election of his successor.

In May 1191, pope Celestine issued his mandate peremptorily to bishop Reginald and the commissioners, to execute the order for the destruction of the new buildings at Hackington, and on July 21 they were levelled to the ground.

The monks had succeeded in one of their objects.

They were now eager to secure the election of the archbishop. Reginald is

* Vide Stubbs, Pref. to the *Epistolae Cantuarienses*, p. liii. for the history of this controversy; and letters to and from Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, in the collection. Also Letters of Peter of Blois. Ep. cxxxv. ccclv. Vide *Vita S. Hugonis*, p. 134-5. At this same time two of the chapter of Wells were Baldwin's agents at Rome, Peter of Blois, archdeacon of Bath, and William of St. Faith, precentor of Wells.

The letters illustrate Peter's character. V. Ep. cxxxv., his letter on Urban's death; ccclv., his change of sides, in disgust at not having been paid his expenses. So he writes about May, 1191, "perdidi operam et impensas—meisque peccatis exigentibus permisit me Dominus occasione illius archiepiscopi damnose deludi . . ." and he offers his services to the Convent.

charged with secretly intriguing for the primacy; but there is no evidence that he sought the office, or took any steps to obtain it.^a

It was likely that his support of the convent, his position as pope's commissioner, and his execution of the pope's orders, should have won him the favour of the monks. He certainly had an active but self-interested agent in his cause in Savaric, his kinsman, who had some mysterious influence with the emperor Henry VI., and the king of France, Philip, son of Louis VII, the patron of Reginald in early life. If Savaric was intriguing for Reginald, he certainly was intriguing also for himself, and for the reversion of Reginald's bishopric of Bath.

Under his influence, the emperor wrote in November 1191, to recommend the convent to take the advice of Savaric "*dilectus consanguineus noster*," in the choice of their archbishop. At the same time, Philip of France recommended Reginald as the friend of his father, who had given him the abbey of St. Exuperius in 1164; and as strongly supported by Savaric, "our faithful friend."^b

The king's justiciars had appointed December 3 for a meeting of council to elect. But before the day, the monks, anticipating the meeting of the council, held a chapter on November 27, to assert their claim and to nominate their candidate.

The prior tried to sound the archbishop of Rouen, the chief justiciar, as to the person who would be accepted by the king. The archbishop, as Gervase hints,^c intended the monks to choose himself; if so, he must have failed to make himself intelligible, or to have convinced the prior of his merits. "Would the bishop of Bath be admissible?" The archbishop did not say "yes," but the monks interpreted his looks as favourable. "We elect," cried the prior, "the bishop of Bath." The monks re-echoed the nomination, and, laying violent hands on Reginald, thrust him, protesting, imploring, struggling, into the archbishop's chair.

The archbishop of Rouen protested in the king's name; the members of the council threatened further proceedings; but the monks supported their right to elect. Reginald re-asserted his unwillingness, but acquiesced in the election, and announced his intention of awaiting the pope's confirmation, with the words: "*anxius, invitus consentio vel gratulabundus cedo*."

But all that had been done was made void by Reginald's death within a month of the election.

He was on his way to or from his diocese, when he was seized with paralysis at his manor of Dogmersfield on Christmas Eve.

^a Gervase so says, "*clam ambiens*." Bishop Stubbs, *Pref. Ep. Cant.* lxxxi. thinks "he was quietly laying his plans for the primacy." See also *ibid.* lxxix.

^b *Epp. Cant.* cccclxxxi. ii.

^c Gervase, *Opera Hist.* i. 511. R. S.

The prior of Christchurch was sent for. The archbishop, anticipating his death, ordered him to bring the monk's habit, that he might die as a member of the brotherhood. His last words were, "God willeth not that I should be your archbishop. But I desire to be a monk, and one with you. Farewell, and pray for me without ceasing, as one of the brotherhood."^a

He died on St. Stephen's day. The body was taken to Bath, and buried before the high altar on the day of St. Thomas the Martyr, December 29.

Peter of Blois, no longer now archdeacon of Bath, speaks of him as "*Magni nominis umbra*," and marks—perhaps with malicious humour—the curious coincidence that his days of death and burial were the feasts of the two saints to whom the church was dedicated, which he had been instrumental in destroying. "It was as if St. Stephen had killed him, and St. Thomas had buried him." But Richard of Devizes, to whom bishop Stubbs gives the character of "an ill-natured historian, who never misses an opportunity of speaking ill," is witness to his love for his church of Bath, and the love of his diocese for him,^b and has condensed in two lines of an homely epitaph—in which he plays upon his name, a high testimony to his character,

Dum Reginaldus erat bene seque suosque regebat—
Nemo plus quaerat—quicquid docuit faciebat.^c

Reginald's life is connected with interesting scenes and important events in the great reign of Henry II. As a statesman, he was one of the foremost in the second rank of able men whom Henry gathered round himself.

As a bishop, though he was of another type from the ascetic and unworldly Saint Hugh, yet he rose far above the selfish and worldly bishops of his time, who were the scorn of Henry.^d

Reginald had no opportunity of showing whether he was capable of ruling the church of England as primate, in those troubled times. We may think it was happier for him, and for his reputation, that he had not to undergo the trial. But at least Wells has reason to honour him as one of her chief benefactors, not only in ecclesiastical, but in civil history; zealous and liberal, and wise in government; and a worthy successor of bishop Robert.

^a Ep. ccclxxxviii. "Mihi non videtur quod velit Deus quod vester sim archiepiscopus. Vester autem volo et desidero esse monachus. Valet, et gratia vestri incessanter, incessanter, oretis pro me.

^b "Quam multum diligebat, magis ab ea dilectus."

^c R. of Devizes, p. 46, § 58.

Reginald rightly named, himself and his flock ruled well;
How? What he taught he did; there is no more to tell.

^d William of Newbury, III. c. xxvi.

PART II.

Bishop Reginald's share in the fabric of the cathedral church of Wells.

It has been generally assumed by later writers, who have followed the Canon of Wells and Godwin as the original authorities on the history of the fabric, that we have no documentary evidence of bishop Reginald's work on the fabric of his own cathedral church.

The Canon of Wells, as quoted in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, and bishop Godwin say nothing of any building works between the times of bishop Robert and bishop Jocelin.

Professor Willis,^a in his lectures on the church of Wells, passes from bishop Robert to bishop Jocelin, as the next prelate who comes architecturally on the scene.

Mr. Freeman says, "We may pass more lightly over the time of the two bishops who came between the first great founder, Robert, and the second great founder, Jocelin. Their time is a most important time in the history of the see of Bath and Wells; it is the most important of all times in the late history of the church of Glastonbury; but it provides but little matter bearing on the history of the fabric, or the constitution of the church of Wells. The next bishop, Reginald, founded several new prebends, but I do not find any mention of the fabric in his time."^b

But we have additional evidence, contained in the chapter registers at Wells, which are of earlier authority than the Canon of Wells and Godwin. Professor Willis had access to these registers for his lectures on Wells; and he says, that he "drew from these records many particulars of dates and facts hitherto unknown in relation to the progress of the building in the fourteenth and subsequent centuries."

But, unfortunately, his researches did not extend to the earlier records bearing on this first portion of the history of the fabric.

The first document quoted from his own observation is dated 1286. He exhorts members of the chapter, who have the opportunity, to pursue inquiries into the cathedral registers.

^a *Somerset Archaeological Proceedings*, vol. xii. part I. p. 17.

^b *Cathedral Church of Wells*, p. 70.

Mr. Freeman looks forward to the time when these and all such documents "locked up in manuscript" shall be put into print. We may be sure he will be the first to give weight to any evidence there may be "lurking in these manuscripts" to illustrate the history of the cathedral church, which he has taught others to study. For, if we can discover charters contemporary with the episcopates of Reginald and Savaric, they will give a continuity to the history of the fabric, which has hitherto been wanting, for the time between Robert and Jocelin; and we can test the claim of the Canon and Godwin to represent the earliest history of the fabric.

These documents in the registers of the chapter of Wells have lately been calendared, and their contents printed in a volume published by the Historical MSS. Commission. This is the first step to the publication of separate documents which may have historical value.

I propose to compare some of these earlier documents with the history of the fabric contained in the Canon and Godwin.

The contemporary document in the register of the priory of Bath, the *Historiola de primordiis episcopatus Somersetensis*, gives the history of the church in Robert's time, 1135-1166.

Porro non est oblivioni tradendum quod ecclesia Welliae suo consilio fabricata est et auxilio. Et factum est cum perfecta esset ecclesia Welliae ab eodem domino, Welliae ascitis sibi et adjunctis grandis et praeclaræ memoriae tribus pontificibus G^o. Sar'. et S. domino Wygorn. Roberto domino Herefordiae, consecravit et dedicavit ipsam ecclesiam.

The date of this consecration of the church after restoration is determined, by the dates of consecration and death of the three assisting bishops, as not later than the year 1148.^a The three bishops were Jocelin de Bohun, bishop of Salisbury, 1142-1184; Simon, bishop of Worcester, 1125-1150; and Robert de Bethune, bishop of Hereford, who was consecrated in 1131, and died in 1148.^b

The writer of the *Historiola*, as if in fresh recollection of the event, goes on to tell how the anniversary of the consecration was marked by the grant from the bishops assembled of one hundred days of remission of penance to all who should come on the anniversary of that day to the church.

The writer ascribes to bishop Robert in general terms the rebuilding of the church; and the consecration of the work is marked as a great event in the history of the church. No details are given of the condition of the church, or of the parts rebuilt.

^a *Angl. Sacra*, i. 561.

^b Stubbs, *Episc. Succession*.

The next writer is the Canon of Wells of the fifteenth century. He goes more into detail about bishop Robert's work than the contemporary writer :

"Dedicavit Ecclesiam Wellensem, praesentibus Gocelino Sarum, Simone Wigorn, et Roberto Herefordensi Episcopis. Multas ruinas ejusdem Ecclesiae destructionem ejus in locis pluribus comminantes egregie reparavit."^a

Godwin comes after, and varies the words of the canon :

"Ecclesiam annosa vetustate labantem et properante ruina collapsuram partim refecit, partim de novo condidit."^b

"Whereas our church of Wells at this time was exceeding ruinous, and likely every day to fall to the ground, he pulled down a great part of it and repaired it."^c

Dr. Archer, who could find nothing in the registers to bear out these statements of the later writers, adds this significant comment, "unde vero isti hauserunt non constat."^d

Here and elsewhere he puts us on our guard against accepting with implicit confidence the authority of the Canon and Godwin.

Bishop Robert died August 31, 1166.

No mention of the fabric of the church is made by the Canon of Wells or by Godwin in their history of the time between Robert and Jocelin, who succeeded May 28, 1206, and consecrated the church in 1239.

We are left to infer—

1. That no building was carried on in Reginald's time;
2. That Jocelin found both the Saxon church and Robert's new work in ruins, and pulled down the whole church and rebuilt it.

But we have evidence in contemporary charters which in some measure supplies the blank in the history of the fabric, and leads to different inferences.

While bishop Reginald was receiving and applying benefactions to the church from the clergy and laity of the diocese, he on his own part was making liberal provision by his own acts, both for the augmentation of the common fund of the canons, and also for the maintenance and progress of the fabric of the church.

Early in his episcopate he had made over to the canons the "Barton" or home farm, which was the property of the bishop, free of the annual rent of twelve marks, which they had hitherto paid for it.

"We have given to God, and to St. Andrew, and to the canons there, devotedly

^a *Anglia Sacra*, p. 561.

^b *Godwin*, Lat. ed. 1614.

^c *Godwin*, Eng. ed. 1601.

^d *Archer's Chronicon Wellense*, f. 42.

serving God, their Barton, free from all service, and expressly (*nominatim*) from the rent of twelve marks, which they were wont to pay to us yearly.”^a

He had also given to the common fund of the chapter the tenths of all mill-dues on his manor of Wells, *ad communam canonicorum ibidem deo servientium*.^b

These benefactions to the income of the canons, given in perpetuity for himself and his successors, were accompanied with another gift during his own lifetime to the fabric fund of the church.

In a deed done in chapter very early in his episcopate, in the presence of the dean Richard of Spakeston, William of St. Faith the precentor, Thomas, archdeacon of Wells, and “almost all the canons of the church,” he made over to the chapter, specially for the uses of the fabric, all the fruits accruing from vacant benefices throughout the diocese, until the work shall be finished.

This grant is conveyed in a charter which recites in the preamble the duty incumbent on the rulers of the church, and his own continual solicitude that God shall not be dishonoured by the squalor and neglect of the beauty of His house. So, with the assent of his archdeacon, and in full council with his chapter, he had set himself to discharge this duty incumbent upon him of providing a fund out of the episcopal revenue, from the fruits of benefices^c during the time they were

^a R. i. f. 25, i. f. 59. “Bertona est villa vel prædum frumentarium.” The “canon’s barn” is now (1885) converted into the cathedral grammar school, by the liberality of canon Thomas Bernard, chancellor, 1868.

^b R. i. f. 40, cxlix. “Carta de decimis molendinorum de Well.”; R. i. f. cxlviii. recited and confirmed by Savaric afterwards.

^c “The vacant benefice reverted to the diocesan both in spirituals and temporals. He was the guardian of both, bound to provide for the spiritual care of the flock, and also for the revenues chargeable with that care.

“This custom or rather common law was one of the survivals of the earlier condition of the Church, when the endowments of a diocese were a *diocesan* fund, administered by the bishop and synod, and applied to the support of a diocesan corps of clergy.

“These fruits formed a regular part of episcopal revenue administered by a sequestrator-general, until the Act of Henry VIII. which, in order to secure payment of his first-fruits from the incoming incumbent, gave to the incumbent the fruits during vacancy—leaving to the bishop only the duty of husbanding those fruits by a sequestrator, and providing therefrom for the spiritual duties.”—Note by bishop Hobhouse.

Bishop Jocelin in 1216, after consultation with dean Leonius and the chapter, granted to the commune two-thirds of the revenues of vacant benefices, R. i. f. 59.

Bishop Roger in 1246 claimed all the vacant benefices; but the chapter appealed to the grant made to them by bishop Reginald, and the bishop withdrew his claim upon examination of the charters. The chapter then made a free gift to him of the two-thirds (saving to the archdeacon the third part) in consideration of the debts of the bishop and bishopric. But they gave this only for the bishop’s life, and their act was not to bind future times. R. i. f. 64.

vacant, which should be entirely applied during his lifetime towards the building of the cathedral church, until, by the help of God, the whole work shall be brought to an end.^a

Other grants follow, which have a special interest as unpublished evidence bearing upon the history of the fabric.

A group of contemporary documents bear witness that some building was going on in the church at the time, and that grants were being made for the completion of the work. The dates of these early documents are not expressly given; they can only be ascertained by internal evidence and the names of attesting witnesses.

There are three grants of churches neighbouring to one another in the district of Castle Cary, made probably by members of the same family, the Lovels of Cary, either attested by witnesses who were contemporaries with bishop Reginald, or confirmed by Reginald himself.

(a.) Robert de Kari, lord of Lovinton, gives to God and St. Andrew the advowson of the church of Lovinton, with one hide of 160 acres of land, and a messuage near the church.^b

This deed is confirmed by bishop Reginald.^c

(b.) Nicolas de Barewe,^d in ruri-decanal chapter at Cary (in capitulo apud Kari), "*considerata canonicorum Wellensium honesta conversatione et surgentis ecclesie sue laudabilis structura*," gives up his life interest in the temporalities of this same church of Lovinton for an annual pension of two shillings.^e

Among the witnesses is Adam, the sub-chanter, who also witnessed the grant of Lovington.

^a "*Universis Christi fidelibus ad quos praesens carta pervenerit, Reginaldus Dei gratia Bathon. Episcopus salutem in Domino et Dei benedictionem. Iis quibus est divina dispositione pastoralis officii cura commissa et ecclesiarum sollicitudo injuncta summo opere providendum est ut domum Dei ea excolant diligentia quod dignitas Domini in domus squalore non possit devenustari. Hoc igitur zelo ducti de assensu et consilio archidiaconorum nostrae auctoritatis ad hoc duximus, munimen impendendum ut ad fabricam Wellensis Ecclesiae ad cujus regimen sumus domino disponente admissi, fructus et obventiones vacantium ecclesiarum in nostra diocesi existentium quamdiu vacaverint convertantur, et in usus operationis ex toto cedant donec per Dei miserantis auxilium consumetur.*"

Factum est hoc in capitulo Wellensi, praesente Ricardo de Spakeston, ejusdem ecclesiae Decano, Willelmo precentore, T. archidiacono et omnibus fere illius ecclesiae canonicis."—*Liber Ruber* ii. f. 14.

^b R. i. f. 38, cxxx.

^c *Ib.* f. 61, ccxlii.

^d North Barrow, the next parish to Lovinton. R. i. f. 38, cxxxi.—Cf. R. i. f. 61, ccxli.

^e R. i. f. 38, cxxx.

(c.) Alured de Punson grants the neighbouring church of South Barrow, "in fundo meo sitam," to God and St. Andrew, to the commune of Wells, and to Reginald bishop of Bath.*

Among the witnesses are Thomas archdeacon of Wells, Robert de Geldeford archdeacon, Alexander subdean of Wells, etc.

These deeds follow one another in the register, as if, in the mind of the chapter clerk who copied them, they had connection of time and place.

The attestations to these charters fix their dates to the time of Reginald.

A special interest attaches to the charter of Nicolas of Barrow for the insight which it gives, though but a glimpse, into the state of the cathedral chapter at this time.

The motives which prompted the grant of the church of Barrow, perhaps of others, was a desire to support in their work the canons who bore a good reputation in the diocese, and to promote the building of the church, which was now rising in beauty. He makes his grant "in consideration of the right conversation of the canons of Wells and the admirable structure of the rising church."

These terms in the preamble of a formal document have some force of meaning. They give an interest to the bare names of canons which occur as signatories to these documents of the time, they imply that there was attention to duty, piety, and devotion in dean Alexander and the archdeacons and canons, Robert of Guildford, Ralph of Lechlade, William of Martock, and doubtless Jocelin the chaplain, which commanded the respect of their brethren of the ruridecanal chapter of Cary.

And also at this time the church of St. Andrew was rising and becoming an object of interest and admiration to the clergy and laity of the diocese, so that when Nicolas of Barrow and Michael of Aldeford, and Ralph of Yarlinton came up to Wells they would contrast their own little village churches with the proportions and architectural beauty of the buildings rising at Wells, and report that their cathedral church was becoming "exceeding magnifical," and a praise in the diocese, "laudabilis structura."

Again there is another charter which tells more definitely of new buildings at Wells, and of the restoration of older work at this time.

Martin of Carscumbe, presumably Croscombe, near Wells, makes a grant of three silver marcs towards the construction of the new work, "ad constructionem novi operis," of the church of St. Andrew in Wells, and another two marcs to the

* R. i. f. 61, ccxliii.

repairs of the chapel of St. Mary there, “ad emendationem capellæ beatæ Mariæ ejusdem loci.”^a

The deed is attested by an unknown witness, Baldwin the chaplain. But it is dated with a precision which fixes it to certain years—“in the second year after the coronation of the lord the king at Winchester.”

Two years are possible. Winchester was the scene of royal coronation twice during the last part of the twelfth century.

At Whitsuntide 1170, the young Henry, eldest son of Henry II. (sometimes called *rex junior*, sometimes “Henricus III.”)^b had been crowned at Westminster without his wife Margaret of France, by Roger archbishop of York. That disastrous event had brought down upon Henry the wrath of Thomas of Canterbury for the violation of the privileges of his see, and of the king of France for the slight offered to his daughter. He was crowned a second time with his queen in St. Swithun’s, Winchester, on August 27, 1172.

If we might take our date as the second year from this coronation, and assign 1174 to this charter, it would fall in the first year of Reginald’s episcopate, and it would be the earliest evidence of any architectural work succeeding Robert’s consecration of the church in 1148. But it is improbable that the young Henry, though crowned and called *rex junior* and *Henricus tertius* in contemporary documents, would have been called *dominus rex* during the lifetime of his father.

There was another coronation at Winchester in twenty-four years. Richard I. who had been crowned in state at Westminster on his accession on September 3, 1189, was crowned a second time after his return to England, as it were “to wipe out the stain of his captivity and his foreign homage,” on April 17, 1194, at

^a *Carta Martini de Karscumbe*. Noverit universitas vestra quod ego Martinus dedi deo et ecclesiae beati Andreae in Wellia pro salute animae meae et animarum omnium antecessorum meorum, tres marcas argenti ad constructionem novi operis—et duas marcas ad emendationem capellae beatæ Mariæ ejusdem loci accipiendas de redditu de Maperton quem dominus meus H. de Novo Mercato mihi in solutionem debiti mei assignavit et in carta nostra confirmavit. . . .

Ut haec donatio firma permaneat et inconcussa eam sigilli mei appositione roboravi. His testibus: Baldwino capellano, &c. Anno secundo post coronationem domini Regis apud Wintoniae. R. i. f. 41.

Henry Newmarch (de Novo Mercato) was lord of the barony of Cadbury in Somerset, 6 Richard I. Dugdale, *Baron*. p. 435.

^b Richard of Devizes, *De rebus gestis Ricardi I.* p. 5, § 3. “Ricardus filius regis Henrici secundi, frater regis Henrici tertii.” “Henry, son of King Henry the Second, is frequently styled Henry the Third in the early chronicles and contemporaneous State Papers. He died in 1183.” Note by editor.

Winchester. The year 1196 would then be the second year after the coronation, the fourth year of Savaric's episcopate.

In either case the document is evidence that—1. New building was going on in the church at Wells in the latter part of the twelfth century, either by Reginald in succession to Robert, or by Savaric in succession to Reginald. 2. That there was then a chapel of St. Mary which required and was undergoing repair.

We cannot trace any other documentary reference to the "new work" in Savaric's time. But we have some clue to an earlier chapel, which may be the chapel of St. Mary now under repair.

In a charter of bishop Robert of the date of 1136, there is mention of the chapel of the Blessed Mary, which bishop Giso endowed with land in Wotton.

"Dimidiam etiam hidam in Wotton cum virgata terrae quam jocundae recordationis Gyso episcopus dedit Capellae Beatae Mariae."^a

It may be that Giso built this chapel at the time when he was building the cloister and refectory for his canons, on the ground south of the church, where we know a "chapel of St. Mary near the cloister" was standing in Jocelin's time, and afterwards, and is mentioned repeatedly in later documents.

This chapel may have been spared when bishop John pulled down the canonical buildings of his predecessor.

These documents, relating to the years between 1174-1196, bear witness that building was going on at Wells in the latter part of the twelfth century, and in Reginald's episcopate.

There are no fabric rolls of that date, but the charters of gifts and endowments for the sustentation of the fabric and for the completion of work going on, and the acts of confirmation by bishop and chapter contradict the inferences drawn from the language of the Canon of Wells and Godwin, that nothing was done between Robert's and Jocelin's time.

It seems antecedently improbable that Reginald should have left the fabric of his own cathedral church to fall into ruins, or to remain neglected during seventeen years of an active episcopate. It was, as we see, a time of activity and progress in the diocese. The bishop was carrying on Robert's work, "following the footsteps of his predecessors, and led by their example."

He was a vigorous man, a Norman, and might be supposed to have had that love of building which distinguished the race. He was high in favour with the

^a R. i. f. 31, "De ordinatione prebendarum."

kings Henry and Richard and John his brother. He had travelled much, and must have seen or known of new buildings rising abroad and at home—in his uncle's diocese of Coutances, and at Canterbury, where the rebuilding after the fire of 1174 was going on throughout his episcopate; in his own diocese—at Bath, where he was the restorer of two churches, the founder and builder of the hospital; at Witham, where St. Hugh was building his first church, and preparing for his greater architectural work at Lincoln; at Glastonbury, where buildings of national interest were going on between 1184 and 1193, under Norman workmen; and he was the consecrator of the first completed part, the chapel of St. Mary.

There would have been sufficient to kindle the ambition of an active ruler to keep up and to beautify the church of one of the seats of his diocese, which his predecessor had begun to rebuild.

But we know now from these documents, and from his own words, that the building of the church was the subject of his care and solicitude. We know that he was promoting the building by a large gift to the fabric fund for his lifetime; that the work was being carried on, and the church was rising and becoming a goodly structure in the land; and that new work and repair of old building were being planned or carried out, to which offerings were made, in the first years of his successor's episcopate.

It is alike against antecedent probability, and against positive evidence, that the church was neglected and falling into ruins between 1174 and 1196.

We turn now to the description of the church in Jocelin's time, as told by the Canon of Wells and Godwin, and compare their statements with contemporary documents.

The Canon of Wells, writing of Jocelin, says: "*Ipsamque Ecclesiam vetustatis ruinis enormiter deformatam prostravit, et a pavimentis erexit dedicavitque.*"

This is the description of a building allowed to fall into shapeless ruin, *enormiter deformatam*, by a century of neglect and decay.

The rebuilding of the whole church is attributed to Jocelin, from pavement to vault, "*prostravit et a pavimentis erexit.*"

We are accustomed to vague descriptions in the accounts of restorations of dilapidated buildings, but it is important to weigh the words used in this case, as they affect the general credibility of the traditions of the church and the date of parts of the present architecture.

When we examine this description more critically, we observe that the same kind of language had been used by the Canon in describing the state of the church at Robert's restoration: "*Multas ruinas ejusdem Ecclesiae (Wellensis) destructionem*

ejus in locis pluribus comminantes egregie reparavit." Again the peculiar expression, "enormiter deformatam," is found in the chapter register of the year 1338, as descriptive of the damage done by the settlement of the central tower. The church is there described as "totaliter confracta et enormiter deformata." So that it is to be remarked that the same words are used to describe the church in ruins in Jocelin's time which had been applied with still stronger emphasis to describe the partial damage caused to part of the nave by the settlement of the tower.

Bishop Godwin enlarges upon the text of the Canon, and describes, with more pretention to exactness, Jocelin's work.

In the English edition he says :

"Moreover, in building he bestowed inestimable summes of money. He built a stately chappell in his pallace at Welles and another at Owky, as also many other edifices in the same houses ; and lastly, the church of Welles itselfe being now ready to fall to the ground, notwithstanding the great cost bestowed upon it by bishop Robert, he pulled downe the greatest part of it, to witte all the west ende, built it anew from the very foundation, and hallowed or dedicated it October 23, 1239. Having continued in his bishopricke 37 yeeres, he died at last November 19, 1242, and was buried in the middle of the quier that he had built under a marble tombe, of late yeeres monsterously defaced."

He varies and amplifies his statement in the Latin editions of 1614-1616 :

"Ecclesiam ipsam Wellensem jamjam collapsuram (quamvis in ejus reparatione ingentes non ita pridem sumptus fecerat Robertus Episcopus) egregie refecit ac restituit, vel potius novam condidit. Nam partem multo maximam, quicquid nimirum presbyterio est ab occidente, demolitus est, ut cum ampliore tum pulchriorem redderet, structura excitata ex polito lapide affabre insculpto, augustissima et spectatu dignissima. Triennio antequam excederet Ecclesiam jam absolutam dedicavit Octobris vicesimo tertio, 1239."

"Humatus jacet in medio chori a se constructi."

This account of Godwin is somewhat confused. In the English edition he seems to say that the west end was the greatest part which Jocelin pulled down. At another time he says "he pulled down from the west to the presbytery." But under certain variations in detail the language of these two authorities is decisive, that in their view—

- (a.) There was no building going on at Wells in the time between Robert and Jocelin ;
- (b.) That Jocelin pulled down and rebuilt the west end and the greatest part of the church.

We may say, as Archer said of statements by the same authorities on the state of the church in Robert's time: "Unde vero ista hauserunt non constat."

Let us ascend to the earlier authorities.

(a.) In the traditions of fifty or sixty years earlier than the Canon (as given in the *Historia Minor* of bishop Harewell's time, 1367-1386), we have another and a simpler description of Jocelin's work:

Cui successit Jocelinus . . . qui ecclesiam Bathoniensem dedicavit—hic in primo anno consecrationis suae servitium B. M. in ecclesia Wellensi fecit quotidie decantari ipsamque ecclesiam a parte occidentali pro majori parte erexit et eam cum manerio de Wynescombe et advocacione ipsius dotavit—capellas etiam cum cameris de Wellys et Woky nobiliter construxit.

In this description of the building the writer of the fourteenth century at least says nothing about ruins, but fixes upon the western part of the church, and the chapels at Wells and Woky in the bishop's houses, the remains of which are of the same style as the west front, as the new building works by which Jocelin's episcopate was distinguished.

Let us ascend still higher to contemporary documents.

(b.) Jocelin notices the consecration of his work at Wells in two documents. We have no consecration deed—no contemporary historical account of the act of reconsecration by Jocelin, such as the *Historiola* gave of Robert's work in 1148. But the bishop mentions the consecration of the church twice in the introduction and preamble to two charters given to the church about this time.

1. In a charter confirming to the chapter the manor and church of Wynescumb, given "on the morrow of St. Romanus," he says:

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos praesens carta pervenerit Jocelinus Dei gratia Bathon. episcopus, salutem in Domino.

Noveritis nos in dedicatione ecclesiae nostrae Wellensis quam die Sancti Romani mense Novembris anno Incarnationis Dominicae 1239, in honorem Sancti Andreae Apostolorum mitissimi dedicavimus, dedisse et concessisse et hac presenti carta confirmasse pro nobis et successoribus nostris in dotem ejusdem ecclesiae nostrae, et decano et capitulo nostro Wellensi manerium de Wynescumbe.

In cujus rei robur et testimonium datum Welliae in crastino Sancti Romani anno Incarnationis Dominicae 1239, et pontificatus nostri anno xxxiv.^a

No more than the fact of the consecration is here mentioned.

2. Jocelin speaks with more particularity in the preamble to another charter,^b

^a R. i. f. 50., iii. f. 53 *in dors.* Dugdale, *Mon.* ii. 291.

^b R. i. f. 51, ii. f. 44, 45, iii. f. 8.

by which, in the last year of his life (1242) he increased the "quotidians," the daily apportionment of the common fund of the canons, and made ampler provision for the maintenance of every member of the cathedral staff:

Omnibus Christi fidelibus praesens scriptum visuris vel audituris Jocelinus Dei gratia Bathoniensis episcopus salutem in Domino.

Postquam ad episcopatus officium nos promoveri permisit altissimus, omne studium adhibuimus et adhuc adhibemus, ut cultus divini nominis et decus ecclesiae nobis commissae temporibus nostris cumuletur et ampliatur—quicquid ad dispositionem, utilitatem, et ornatum ipsius ecclesiae respiciat semper cogitantes, et ad effectum pro viribus nostris deducere festinantes, *ecclesiam Sancti Andreae Wellensis, quae periculum ruinae patiebatur prae sua vetustate*, cui, Jesu Christo Salvatore nostro permittente, presidemus ipsius auxilium invocantes, *aedificare caepimus et ampliare; in qua de sola sua gratia adeo profecimus quod ipsam divinis precibus et sacris unctionibus, cum altaribus, vasibus, vestimentis et reliquiis ad divinum cultum explendum in eadem devote solempniterque consecravimus*. Et quia ecclesias aedificantibus, non solum de aedificio ipsiusque consecratione cogitandum est verum etiam de ministrantium alimentis

Acta in capitulo Wellensi sextodecimo Kal. Nov. anno Incarnationis domini nostri Jesu Christi Mill^o cc^o. xlii. (1242) et pontificatus nostri tricesimo septimo.

This charter is sealed by the bishop and the dean, John Sarracenus.

We have traced to its source in Jocelin's own words the tradition passed on to us by the Canon of Wells and Godwin, and adopted from them, that Jocelin was the sole builder of the fabric.

Professor Willis has assumed that "Jocelin himself asserts in one of his statutes that he pulled down the church and rebuilt it."

Do his words justify this assumption? He himself makes no such claim; he recites his share in the completed work of the fabric in a preamble to an ordinance for the better endowment of the church, which was yet to be done, and to which he looks forward as his more special act of grace and benefaction. He does not dwell so much on what had been done as on what remained to be done. He only alludes in the preamble to this past stage of his episcopate work, and passes on to be precise and emphatic on what is the special subject of his charters. He is not even careful to date precisely the day of his consecration of the church;* he only

* There is a curious variation in the date of the day of consecration. The bishop himself fixes the date as "the day of St. Romanus," and "in the month of November."

Mathew Paris, iii. 638, R. S. names the day of St. Romanus as the day of consecration, but fixes the date as Aug. 9,—"*quinto idus Augusti die scilicet S. Romani*"—i.e. the day of St. Romanus, martyr. The day of St. Romanus, confessor and bishop, archbishop of Rouen, in the Sarum Calendar, is October 23. In the Calendar of the Leofric Missal of the latter part of the tenth century, November 18 is marked as the day of St. Romanus, "*Passio Sancti Romani*."

says it was "mense Novembris," though strictly "the 10 Cal. November," was in the month of October. The words themselves do not demand a fuller or more precise meaning than that he thoroughly repaired, enlarged, and completed the church which he found unfinished, ruinous in parts, and in danger from the effects of a time of neglect. Such an interpretation is in agreement with the evidence already given of continuous work upon the fabric up to the year 1196.

Such partial dilapidation and danger from cessation of work and neglect is probable from the circumstances of the time which had intervened between such a date as 1196 and the recommencement of work under Jocelin.

Let us compare briefly the history of the fabric as far as it is mentioned in contemporary documents, and the chief events of the diocesan history between the last date cited, 1196, and the date of Jocelin's consecration of his church, 1239.

It was about this time that bishop Savaric obtained papal sanction for his ambitious policy of annexing the abbey of Glastonbury to the see of Bath.* The abbey appealed. The war with Glastonbury followed; costly missions to Rome, and ruinous litigations drained to Rome the resources of convent and see, and stopped all building, as we know, at Glastonbury, and we may conjecture at Wells.

Savaric himself was an absentee from his diocese. Consecrated in 1192 at Rome, he was abroad, and chancellor of Burgundy to the emperor Henry VI. until late in 1197. Then he came to England, and for the first time after consecration he entered his diocese, but little of his time was spent among his flock. He died August 8, 1205. His erratic career was summed up tersely in lines written after his death—

Hospes erat mundo per mundum semper eundo
Sic suprema dies sit tibi prima quies.

Though Alexander the dean, Robert of Guildford, and Ralph of Lechlade,

The same day, Nov. 18, is marked in the calendar of the church of Milan as the day of St. Romanus, martyr, of Antioch. There is no mention of St. Romanus in the later Roman Calendar. Did Jocelin consecrate the church on Oct. 23, or Nov. 18? It is an interesting question whether the day of our dedication feast should be October 23, according to the Sarum use, or November 18, following the earlier Ambrosian and Lotharingian Calendars. Godwin assumes that Oct. 23, the day of St. Romanus, bishop and confessor, was the day of consecration—if so, Jocelin, when he wrote "mense Novembris" must have meant the 10th of the kalends of November, an inexact and unusual method of computation.

* Adam of Domesday, ii. p. 364, gives the date "VI. Kal. Julii, m^o.c.xc.vi." Pontificatus vero Domini Caelestini papae tercii anno sexto.

VOL. L.

2 Z

Jocelin himself as canon, and others of the chapter may have been resident during Savaric's episcopate, it is not likely that the building would have advanced much, if at all, during that time.

Jocelin was consecrated bishop of Bath May 28, 1206. The instruments of his separate election by the two chapters of Bath and Wells are among the chapter manuscripts. They bear witness to his connection with the church of Wells from his earliest years, and his irreproachable character. "Cum in sinu ecclesiæ Wellensis a primo lacte coaluerit et sine querela inter eos conversatus esset." We are familiar with his attestation to documents in Reginald's time, and as a contemporary with Alexander the dean between 1180 and 1209.

He appears to have been also archdeacon of Chichester in 1182 and up to 1205.

There could have been little building going on at Wells at the beginning of Jocelin's episcopate. The political troubles, the interdict upon the kingdom, and Jocelin's exile from 1206 to 1213, when the revenues of the see were seized by the crown, the struggle with Glastonbury until 1219, were causes sufficient to check any building upon the church. Not until after Jocelin's return from exile in 1213,* not until after the final concord had been made with Glastonbury, August 11, 1219, could Jocelyn have begun the completion of works left unfinished more than twenty years before, and the repair of older parts which were suffering from longer periods of dilapidation.

The notices of the fabric in contemporary documents for these years are few and scanty, corresponding with such a disastrous condition of things at Wells.

One charter only there is which contains grants to the fabric between the years 1196 and the time of dean Ralph of Lechlade.

A charter of one of the canons, Alexander of Henstridge, contains a grant made to the dean and chapter of St. Andrew of land and money for the purpose of hastening the completion of the fabric.^b The only internal indications of date are the names of the prebendary of Henstridge, Alexander, and the initial letter R. of the name of the dean at the time.

A series of documents record the grant of Henstridge by the Camville family to form a prebend in the church in Reginald's time, and the initial of the dean's name in this particular charter might have been taken to correspond with Richard Spakeston, dean 1160-80 under Reginald. But a later charter, in which the name of Alexander the canon again occurs, agrees more directly with the date of Ralph

* 15 John. May 24, 1213, Jocelin admitted to peace. Rymer, *Foedera*, i. 111, 112.

^b R. iii. f. 383.

of Lechlade, dean under Jocelin in 1217-20.^a Alexander the canon gives by this deed for his life the produce of the arable land of the rectorial glebe at Henstridge, half his meadow in Ridgehill and pasture adjacent, and one silver mark from the altarage of Henstridge, to dean Ralph and the chapter of St. Andrew in Wells, for the fabric of the church, "ut fabrica celerius ad optatam consummationem mea sedulitate consurgat." He gives this in lieu of the sum assessed upon his prebend by the chapter; it is to be paid quarterly into the hands of the canons who had charge of the fabric.^b

We gather from this charter that an assessment had been levied upon the canons for the fabric at this time, that Jocelin had begun to rebuild, and that voluntary offerings over and above the assessment were being made in this instance at least to promote and hasten the work.

The date of building is so far fixed to the years 1217-1220, during which Ralph of Lechlade, long time canon and contemporary with Reginald, was now dean under Jocelin.

Beyond this charter we have very little documentary evidence about the fabric in Jocelin's time, before the year 1239. Fines levied upon any tenant or subject of the bishop under the dean's jurisdiction are to be paid to the fabric under a statute of 1237.^c

A clause in an early draft of the will of bishop Hugh of Lincoln, brother of Jocelin, dated 1212, when the brothers were in exile, provides for a legacy of 300 marcs to the church of Wells^d; but the legacy would not have taken effect until after the bishop's death in 1237.

The Close Rolls of Henry III. under the date October 3, 1225, mention a grant from the crown to bishop Jocelin, for the fabric of the church, of five marks annually for twelve years. No mention is made of this grant in the chapter documents.

These are all the notices that have been found making any mention of the fabric in Jocelin's time previously to his own statement of the completion and consecration of the work in 1239.

^a R. i. f. 21. Eustachia de Camville, who gives the charter, was wife of Gerard de Camville, 7 John—17 John, and survived him. Vide Dugdale, *Baronage*, i. p. 627.

^b Cf. instances of assessment for the fabric in later history, in Prof. Willis's Lecture, *Som. Arch. Proc.* vol. xii. part i. p. 23.

The case of bishop Jocelin's levy of one-fifth is referred to as a precedent, in 1248. R. i. f. 69.

^c R. i. f. 43, *in dors.*

^d Draft of bishop Hugh's will, R. iii. f. 248, *in dors.*

We can understand how the work taken up after 1219 would go on and increase under favouring circumstances. After the composition with Glastonbury in 1219 the see was enriched by the ceded manors of the abbey. Bishop Hugh of Lincoln, brother of bishop Jocelin, was making gifts of manors and advowsons to the see. Other gifts, such as that of Alexander of Henstridge, the crown grant of 1225, the rich legacy of bishop Hugh, falling in in 1237, all were making the see, which had been poor and impoverished between 1196 and 1219, now rich and increased in goods; and Jocelin was enabled to bring his work of twenty years to completion by consecration in 1239, and then to go on to augment the endowments of the church.

One more document completes the contemporary history of the fabric at the death of Jocelin.

Jocelin died Nov. 19, 1242.

He had ordered that his body should be buried at Wells.

The canons of Wells by a stratagem, which the monks of Bath resented, secured the burial of their bishop in their own church of Wells before they had made known his death to the convent of Bath. Reginald and Robert, and every bishop since John of Tours, had been buried at Bath. But it was fitting that the bishop who had done so great things for Wells should be buried among his own people. The canons gave him burial in the place of honour, as the other bishops had been buried at Bath, before the high altar of the church of St. Andrew.

No arrangements had hitherto been made for the burial ground outside the church; but now, when the building on the west and south sides was completed, the ground was laid out around the newly-consecrated building, by a statute of chapter passed on July 9, 1243, during the vacancy of the see:*

1243. Jul. 9. Die Jovis proxime post translationem beati S. [Thomae]^b deliberatum est de sepultura Willelmi de Chine canonici; statutum est inde ut de caetero canonici residentes sepeliantur in claustro per ordinem secundum dignitatem ordinis et conditionis—ita quod majores minoribus proponantur [nisi forte sepulturus alibi vel in ecclesia vel extra designaverant in vita sua]^c et ut incipiat sepultura eorum ad ostium ecclesiae versus austrum, adeo prope sicut fieri poterit, et ut extendet se usque ad angulum claustrum directe—et sic deinceps—cautum est etiam ut nullus laicus vel vicarius sepeliatur inter eos—sed vicarii sepeliantur in caemeterio versus orientem retro capellam beatae Mariae [et alibi in caemeterio] laici vero in caemeterio versus occidentem et incipiat sepultura eorum juxta huiusmodi ibi plantatos juxta locum illum ubi consuevit esse Hastillaria et sic extendet se versus occidentem—ita quod de caetero nullus laicus sepeliatur

* R. iii. f. 363, *in dors.*

^b Partially erased.

^c In a later hand.

ante ostia ecclesiae versus occidentem—majores autem personae de ecclesia sepeliantur in navo ecclesiae si voluerint ipsi, vel amici eorum. Predicta statuta sunt de canonicis nisi in vita sua de corporibus suis aliter ordinaverunt.^a

By this the ground plan of the church of Jocelin's time is apparent. The great door of Jocelin's newly-constructed west front opened out on the burial ground, kept inviolate from markets since bishop Robert's order a century before,^b and now become the lay cemetery. The south-west portal led out to the cloisters, the burial-ground of the canons on the south side of the church. Further east, beyond the east cloister walk, was "the chapel of the Blessed Virgin, near the cloister," round which was the burial-ground of the vicars.

We have now traced in these contemporary documents notices of the fabric, which, though few and scanty, are important, for the purpose of showing the progress of a building with a continuous life growing to completion, though with breaks and stoppages, from the time of Robert's consecration in 1148 to Jocelin's completion and consecration in 1239.

Three periods of building are distinct :—

Robert's work, 1148-1166.

Reginald's work, 1174-1196.

Then, after an interval of about twenty-five years,

Jocelin's work, from 1219 to 1239.

These contemporary documents supply links in the chain of the history of the fabric which have hitherto been wanting. They place in due relation the several workers in the great fabric. They enable us to correct the traditions of later writers, who ascribed all the work to one great benefactor. In the silent attestations to these documents we see the names of Jocelin and his contemporaries, Robert of Guildford, Ralph of Lechlade, Thomas and Peter of Chichester, who had taken part in council with Reginald, living on to be the last workers and finishers of the building under Jocelin which they had seen rising in their earlier days.

Skilled architects may differ as to the parts of the building which belong to Reginald's time, or to his successors, but these documents present a claim that Reginald's share in the work should not be ignored.

High architectural authorities have differed as to the interpretation of the architectural evidence. Judgments have been swayed by deference to the supposed authority of the printed statements of the Canon of Wells and Godwin. It

^a R. i. f. 61.

^b Vide R. iii. f. 245.

is time that we were set free from subjection to that authority as decisive in considering the architectural history.

It is evident that the church bears unmistakeable signs of two very different styles of building in the west front and nave. The west front "is built in the fully-developed Early-English style in which Salisbury, Ely, and Lincoln are built."

Professor Willis expresses the general judgment that the date of the consecration of the church by Jocelin, in 1239, agrees with "that phase of Early-English work which the architecture of the west front presents, though the sculptures may have been completed long after the tabernacles which received them."^a

There is a general consent that Jocelin was the builder of the west front. Mr. Irvine, after long and conscientious study of the architecture, has raised a standard of revolt against this general consent, and has boldly asserted that Reginald was the builder of the west front and Jocelin of the nave.^b But the view that Reginald has anticipated the style of fifty years later in the west front, has been too startling for acceptance. Meanwhile, Mr. Irvine's architectural criticisms deserve the greatest respect, and the contemporary documents support his view that more building was done in Reginald's time than has been supposed or taken into account in the architectural history.

There is more division of opinion as to the date of the building east of the west front.

The church which Jocelin consecrated is generally understood "to take in the nave, the north porch, the transepts, and what is now the choir proper, that is, the three western arches of the eastern limb. It takes in the three towers up to the point where they rise above the roof of the church."^c

Mr. Freeman says, "The west front, within and without, differs widely in its architectural detail from the arcades of the nave and transepts. The rest of the early work is built in a style which in England is almost peculiar to Somersetshire, South Wales, and the neighbouring counties, and which is much more like French work. It has a good deal of the earlier Romanesque leaven hanging about it; its mouldings and the clusterings of its pillars are much less free; the abaci or tops of the capitals are square or octagonal, instead of round; it makes no use of those detached shafts, often of marble, which are so abundantly found

^a Lecture reported in *Somerset Archaeological Soc. Proceedings*, vol. xii. part i. p. 18.

^b *Somerset Archaeological Soc. Proc.* vol. xix. part ii. pp. 13, 14, 23.

^c *Cathedral Church of Wells*, pp. 75, 76.

in the west front. Now, which of these two, the style of the west front or of the nave is the earlier? The latter is, no doubt, earlier in idea, though this does not absolutely prove that the parts of the church which are built in it are necessarily older in date.”^a

The style of the nave is called a “local and a Somerset style” by Professor Willis; he says: “The character of its architecture is unlike that of any ordinary Early-English building, and deserved to be called the pure Somerset style; it is very beautiful, and did credit to the county, and was manifestly the work of local masons.”^b

Professor Willis tells us that the west front is of later date than the nave, and the western part of the nave is later than the eastern part, the choir, and the north porch; and he enters into detail in his description of differences and breaks in the building. In his lecture at Wells, conducting his audience from east to west in the order of the building, he drew their attention to breaks and stoppages in the work, and signs of differences of construction, which must occur in a building which, in the vicissitudes of centuries, has experienced repairs by different hands. But a general uniformity, broken by regular diversity, is observable in the nave.

He is thus reported in the *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological Society*—

“If they examined the spandrils, or open wall-spaces between the sides of the arches down the nave, they would see that three remarkable changes had taken place in the work. The work was commenced, continued, and carried on from east to west in order of time, inasmuch as the stonework in the spandrils improved as it went on, the stones in the spandrils nearest the tower being small and indifferently set as compared with those nearest to the east end. . . . When they got to the west end, they found a change, as if an architect had been then called in who would have his own way and his own style, and that was the common Early-English, and not the (local) Somerset style (of the nave). The two styles were mixed together at their junction in the most complicated way. . . .

The west front was of somewhat later date. He fortified this opinion by explaining how the Somersetshire work abutted against the Early English, and was joined and interlaced with it, and the example of this was the most curious he

^a *Cath. Ch. of Wells*, pp. 75, 76.

^b *Som. Arch. Proc.* xii. part i. p. 16. Why it should be called the local or Somerset style, when “it is common to the neighbouring counties and S. Wales, and is like French work,” does not appear. The workmen may have come from Normandy and France, and have spread themselves over the opposite counties.

had ever beheld. In some cases the Early English overlapped the Somerset, and was actually superimposed upon previously-erected plinth walls of that style.”^a

If, then, the west front is (according to high authorities) of later date than the nave, and it is the work of Jocelin, finished in 1239, to whom shall we ascribe the rest of the church, which is “unlike any Early-English building, and belongs to a style, on the whole, fifty years earlier ;” a style characterised as “a transitional pointed Norman, an improved Norman worked with considerable lightness and richness, but distinguished from the Early-English by greater massiveness and severity, the style formed in the second half of the twelfth century, which became the fashion in the days of Henry II.”

The direct statements of the Canon of Wells and Godwin attribute all to Jocelin. But these statements of writers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries have not been received without weighty protest, even by those who have accepted them as original authorities. It is well to reproduce architectural opinions formed from the structural evidences of the date of the building in opposition to the general tradition. Britton, writing in 1847, expresses his opinion of the date of the nave—

“Although the whole of the church of Wells is designed and built in the Pointed style of architecture, yet it will readily be seen that from the west end to the third column on each side of the choir there is a regular and nearly symmetrical correspondency in the thickness of the walls and the form of the buttresses ; and that in both respects they partake far more of the massive solidity and heaviness of the Norman character than we are accustomed to meet with in churches constructed in the Pointed system. There is, in fact, such simplicity in all the more ancient parts which include the nave and transept, and the walls of the west part of the choir there, that had not the Canon of Wells so particularly mentioned the restoration of the cathedral by Jocelin of Wells, and bishop Godwin so strongly corroborated his testimony, there could be little hesitation in ascribing it to bishop Robert, and assigning them to the reign of Henry II. (1154—1189).”

That testimony we now can weigh as later tradition : he continues—

“The north porch might still more decidedly be referred to the same period, for it possesses so many characteristics of Norman architecture, that there can be no doubt of its having been erected before the Pointed style had obtained its full ascendancy. The buttresses are flat and plain, and their pinnacles are almost devoid of ornament. The outward arch, though acutely pointed, exhibits amidst its deeply recessed mouldings a twofold series of zigzag or diagonal sculpture,

^a *Somerset Archaeol. Soc. Proc.* vol. xii. part i. 17.

intermixed with Norman foliage, and the capitals of its banded shafts partake, in their grotesque figures and flowing leaves, of the same character. The panelled front of the surmounting gable also, which consists of six lancet-headed arcades of different heights rising to the weatherings, bespeaks an early age, and even the piercing (to admit light into the roof) of the lower part of the middle panels into three lancet-shaped apertures corresponds with other specimens of the date assumed."

"During whichever episcopacy the earlier parts of the edifice were raised, it is evident that the design was formed at that very point of time when the Pointed style of architecture was first attaining its supremacy over the massive compositions of the Norman builders."

Another writer comments on the difficulty of reconciling "the only known authority for the history of the cathedral," the statement of the Canon of Wells, with the architectural evidence, "which, assigning nothing of the existing church to Robert or Reginald, attributes everything to Jocelin. If internal evidence were with the history or tradition I would not complain, but it is dead against it."*

These opinions are borne out by architectural features in the nave and north porch which belong to the transitional style of the latter part of the twelfth century, and by the similarity of architecture in those parts with contemporary buildings of the transitional style. For instance, at Glastonbury the chapel of St. Mary, consecrated by Reginald in 1187, is a dated specimen of the semi-Norman style. Professor Willis^b remarks on the similarity of details between that building and the north porch of Wells "in the zigzag ornamentation of the later Norman and intricate kind in which straight lines alternate with angles;" the sculptured monsters, and wild imagery on the walls and in panels of the north porch, in the capitals and tympana of the clerestory arches of the easternmost parts of the nave contrast with the more human representations and naturalistic foliage of the capitals in the western arcades of the nave.

With all these evidences of later-twelfth-century work in the eastern parts of the nave and north porch, why has no mention of Reginald as a builder-bishop in the later twelfth century ever been made in the traditions of the church?

Because all the later traditions expressed in the Canon of Wells and Godwin have been followed generally by those who have written on the architecture of the church.

* V. Note, part iii. *Wells Cathedral*. Murray, 1861, attributed to Mr. Sharpe.

^b *Architectural History of Glastonbury Abbey*, p. 44.

But now that we have contemporary documentary evidence which enables us to discriminate, it may be pardonable to break away from the ordinary tradition which assigns all the buildings to one great man, and to indulge in some conjecture at least as to the several builders and their work.

Mr. Sharpe may be quoted again:—"Not a word is said about Reginald FitzJoceline's part in the cathedral, but enough is told of his character as a munificent prelate to make it extremely unlikely that he did nothing. My own belief is that he finished the nave, up to the then Norman west front, which he left standing. The history and existing remains of Glastonbury afford collateral evidence of this," which must have been in vigorous progress (though not completed as he says) up to 1193.

With this transitional architecture before us in the north porch and nave, and these documents which speak of buildings going on in the twelfth century, may we not claim that in the nave of Wells we have a remarkable example of transitional architecture intervening between the Norman and the Early-English styles.

We may conjecture with Mr. Sharpe that the general design of the parts east of the west front belonged to Reginald, though the actual work was stopped somewhere in the nave, and the whole has been greatly remodelled in details by successive builders in after years. If, as we are told, all Robert's work has perished, we may see in the three western arches of the choir Robert's work recast by Reginald. If there is one point in the nave where it is allowable to conjecture the great break between Reginald's and Jocelin's work may have taken place, it will be in the part westward of the north porch, the arches of the nave which run on to the west front.

Here, Professor Willis remarks, the masonry improves, here the forms of sculptured foliage and human heads are more free and natural, more characteristic of the later workmen, here he considers that we have the work of a later date. Here it is we may conjecture that Reginald's work stopped; here was the new work to be carried on in 1196; here the work was suspended in 1196, when troubles threatened the church under Savaric, when the war with Glastonbury began. Here may have been for the next three and twenty years, between 1196-1219, the gaping chasm between the unfinished nave and the old Norman front, which, from its age, was showing sign of decay, and was ready to fall, "*pro sua vetustate patiebatur periculum ruinæ.*"

What if Jocelin, after 1219, began to build at the west end, pulling down the old Norman work to the ground, raising up on its ruins the new work in the rich Early-English style of the period, rivalling his brother's work at Lincoln? What

if he then joined it on to the unfinished nave of Reginald, building up the three western arcades of the nave in the earlier style of his predecessor, and uniting here in one glorious whole his own new work with the work of Reginald and of Robert. "Enough glory would still remain to Jocelin in the erection of the west front, and all that naturally accompanies it."

It would have been a noble architectural achievement for the last twenty years of a troubled episcopate.

If he did this and no more than this, it would not be difficult to imagine how the tradition would have grown that he was the builder of the whole church. We can understand how after generations who immediately inherited the benefits of Jocelin's wise legislation and generous benefactions should have cherished the memory of their last builder, as if he was the one and only builder, of the new church.

He was of Wells,* his father had lands at Lancherley and round about Wells; his brother was archdeacon of Wells, and afterwards bishop Hugh of Lincoln, and he himself, as chaplain and canon and bishop, had grown up, and lived, and died, and was buried among his own people; his grave and memorial tomb was with them in their church, honoured the more as it was the tomb of the first bishop buried at Wells since the seat of the bishop had been transferred to Bath one hundred and fifty years before. Each generation had before their eyes that part of the church which was Jocelin's undoubted work, gradually rising under the hands of successive builders to the height of its western towers, looking over the burial-place of the dead and the homes of the living. Generation after generation saw the deeply recessed niches, the 600 tabernacles gradually filled with sculptured imagery, telling the whole tale of earth and heaven, of man's fall and resurrection, of the Lord's advent in mercy and in judgment, and of the long roll of saints and worthies of the race, and of their own land.

It was this western face of their church which ever caught their gaze at morning and at noon, and glowing in the evening sunset in the rich materials of Douling stone and blue lias shafts and coloured statuary; and by the time of bishop Bubwith, under whom the north-western tower rose to its full height, the tradition might well have taken root, that Jocelin of Wells, who alone had raised this western front, had rebuilt the whole church, and that as builder, legislator, and benefactor, "there had been none like him before him, neither after him hath any arisen like unto him"^b—"Qui sibi similem anteriorem non habuit, nec hujusque visus est habere sequentem."

* Note on page 20.

^b 1 Kings iii. 12.

If the fame of bishop Jocelin was gathered up in such a record as this in the century and a-half after his death, it is not surprising that the name and memory of bishop Reginald FitzJocelin and his work should have gradually been confused and obscured before the light of the greater luminary, the last and greatest builder of the fabric and constitution of the church of Wells.

But now with these documents before us we put in a plea that justice shall be done to Reginald among those who have gone before as builders of the church. As Jocelin of Wells, the Englishman, bore the name of his Norman predecessor, Reginald FitzJocelin de Bohun, and carried it on to greater honour, so the church of Jocelin of Wells represents the earlier work of Reginald FitzJocelin, ennobled, finished, and consecrated ; and Reginald deserves to hold the second place of honour between Robert the "author," and Jocelin the "finisher," as one of "the first three" master builders of our holy and beautiful house of St. Andrew in Wells.

CONTEMPORARIES OF

BISHOP REGINALD. (a.) 1174-1180.	(b.) 1180-1191, Dec. 26.	BISHOP SAVARIC. 1192-1205.	BISHOP JOCELIN OF WELLS. 1206-1242.
<p><i>Kings:</i> Henry II. 1154, 1189 Henry III. junior, 1170-1183 <i>Pope:</i> Alexander III. 1159</p> <p><i>Archbishops of Canterbury:</i> Richard, 1174</p> <p><i>Dean of Wells:</i> Richard of Spakeston. (Bishop Reginald, Charter ii.)</p> <p><i>Precentors:</i> Reginald. (R. i. f. 36, 1164) Albert, or Ilbert. (Bishop Reginald, Ch. ii.) William of S. Faith. (R. ii. f. 14)</p> <p><i>Chancellor:</i> Robert. (R. i. f. 25)</p> <p><i>Treasurer:</i> William. (Bishop Reginald, Ch. ii.)</p> <p><i>Archdeacons:</i> Wells: Thomas. (R. i. f. 25; f. 36)</p> <p>Bath: Richard of Poitiers. (R. i. f. 48) Peter of Blois. (<i>Epist. Cantuar.</i>)</p> <p>Taunton:</p> <p><i>Subdean:</i> Robert. (Bishop Reginald, Ch. i.)</p> <p><i>Succentor:</i> Galfrid. (R. i. f. 36, 1164)</p> <p><i>Chaplain:</i> Jocelin. (Bishop Reginald, Ch. i. ii.) William of Chard. (Bishop Reginald, Ch. ii.)</p> <p><i>Prior of Bath:</i> Walter. (R. i. f. 27)</p>	<p><i>Kings:</i> Henry II. July 6, 1189 Richard I.</p> <p><i>Popes:</i> Alexander III. to Sept. 1181 Lucius III. to Nov. 25, 1185 Urban III. to 1187 Gregory VIII. Oct. 20 to Dec. 17, 1187 Clement III. 1187 to 1191 Celestine III. 1191 to 1198</p> <p><i>Archbishops:</i> Richard, to Feb. 1184 Baldwin, to Nov. 1190 Reginald, Nov. 27 to Dec. 26, 1191</p> <p><i>Dean of Wells:</i> Alexander. (R. i. f. 23, et passim; f. 60; f. 61)</p> <p><i>Precentor:</i> William of S. Faith. (R. ii. f. 14)</p> <p><i>Chancellor:</i> Peter de Winton, 1185</p> <p><i>Treasurer:</i> Peter de Winton. (Le Nere F.)</p> <p><i>Archdeacons:</i> Thomas. (R. i. f. 23) Robert de Geldford, 1185. (R. i. f. 38; iii. f. 367) Ralph de Lechlade. (<i>Ch. Doc.</i> i. 9.) Richard. (R. i. f. 25, and i. f. 48) Peter of Blois. (<i>Ep. Cant.</i>) Godfrid. (R. i. f. 24) Godfrey. (Le Nere F.)</p> <p><i>Subdean:</i> Alexander. (<i>Ch. Doc.</i> i. 10) Thomas. (<i>Ch. Doc.</i> i. 13)</p> <p><i>Succentor:</i> Adam. (R. i. f. 61)</p> <p><i>Chaplain:</i> Jocelin. } (R. i. f. 61; f. 23) William. } Henry. (<i>Ch. Doc.</i> i. 13)</p> <p><i>Prior of Bath:</i> Walter</p>	<p><i>Kings:</i> Richard I. 1189-1199 John, 1199-1216</p> <p><i>Popes:</i> Clement III. 1187-1191 Celestine III. 1191-1198 Innocent III. 1198-1216</p> <p><i>Archbishop:</i> Hubert, 1198-1205</p> <p><i>Dean:</i> Alexander. (R. i. f. 23)</p> <p><i>Precentor:</i> William. (R. i. f. 23; f. 57)</p> <p><i>Archdeacons:</i> Wells: Robert de Geldford Hugh de Welles Bath: Robert de Geldford Taunton: William de Wrotham. (Pat. 6 John)</p> <p><i>Subdean:</i> William. (Le Nere) Thomas. (R. i. f. 23, in d. f. 57)</p> <p><i>Chaplain:</i> Hellas. (R. i. f. 49)</p> <p><i>Prior of Bath:</i> Robert. (R. i. f. 49)</p>	<p><i>Kings:</i> John, 1199-1216 Henry III. 1216-1272</p> <p><i>Popes:</i> Innocent III. 1198-1216 Honorius, 1216-1227 Gregory, 1227-1241 Innocent IV. 1243-1254</p> <p><i>Archbishops:</i> Stephen, 1207-1228 Edmund, 1234-1240</p> <p><i>Dean:</i> Alexander (R. i. f. 57), 1209 Leonius, 1213 Ralph de Lechlade (R. i. f. 57), 1216-1220 Peter of Chichester (R. i. f. 27, in d. 1220, 59), 1236 William de Merton (R. i. f. 43), 1236 John Saracenus (R. i. f. 57), 1237-1250</p> <p><i>Precentors:</i> William de Hamme. (R. i. f. 61; f. 57) Thomas de Tornaco, 1213. (R. iii. f. 383)</p> <p><i>Chancellors:</i> Richard de Kenelword, 1235. (R. i. f. 33) Thomas of Retford. (R. i. f. 34; f. 46) 1213. (R. iii. f. 383)</p> <p><i>Treasurers:</i> Peter. (R. i. f. 61) Richard</p> <p><i>Archdeacons:</i> Hugh de Welles Ralph de Lechlade William de Wrotham, 1215 Hugh de Wilton William de Bardeney, 1221. (R. i. f. 44)</p> <p><i>Subdeans:</i> Thomas. (R. i. f. 57) Lambert. (R. i. f. 27, in d.)</p> <p><i>Chaplain:</i> Roger. (R. i. f. 61)</p> <p><i>Prior of Bath:</i> Robert. (R. i. f. 54)</p>

APPENDIX A. (p. 5).

IN CHAPTER DOCUMENTS, 1-7

Appointment by Louis VII. king of the French, of Reginald, archdeacon of Salisbury, to be abbot of St. Exuperius, Corbeil. Dated Melun, 1164.

In nomine Sancte et individue Trinitatis, Amen.

Ego Ludovicus Dei gratia Francorum rex. Nobis honor est, et ecclesiis nostris commodum, quotiens earum curam discretis et honestis committimus viris. Notum itaque fecimus universis tam presentibus quam futuris quod abbatiam Sancti Exuperii^a de Corbolio, Reginaldo archidiacono Salesberiensi, pro honestate sua, et pro amicorum suorum prece donavimus, habendam et tenendam, sicut frater meus Philippus et ceteri ante eum abbatiam tenuerunt et hoc fecimus salvo jure nostro et canonicorum salva etiam ecclesie dignitate; quod ut ratum sit in posterum scribi [nostra auctorit]ate communire precepimus. Actum Miledu[num incarn]ati M^o. C^o Lxiiij. astantibus in palatio [quorum infra scri]pta sunt nomina et signa.

S' comitis Theobaldi dapiferi nostri.

S' mattei camerarii.

S' Guidonis buticlarii.^b

S' Constabulario nullo;

Datum per manum Hugonis cancellarii.

^a St. Exuperius, "a military saint, one of the companions of S. Maurice."

^b V. Ducange—

Buticlarius. idem quod pincerna—

buta = lagena, cupa.

butta = dolium, vas vinarium.

buticula, dim = bouteille —

buticularius Franciae—unus e quatuor majoribus palatii officialibus qui literas et diplomata regia subscribebant.

The document is on a small piece of parchment much worn and torn. The letters within brackets are wanting, and are supplied conjecturally.

APPENDIX B, p. 13.

Gifts of bishop Reginald to the church of Bath.

Vide Registrum Prioratus Bathon., p. 315.

[R]eginaldus Episcopus hujus loci omnes terras nostras a predecessibus suis ad opus fabrice Ecclesie nostre diucius detentas devote restituit et que a predecessibus suis nobis restitute erant affectuosius ab ipso nobis, confirmate sunt. Ecclesiam de Aystona, Ffulconis de Alneto, in usus proprios nobis confirmavit. Ecclesias de Brugges et de Kary et de Radestoke, nichilominus in usus proprios nobis confirmavit. Ecclesiam etiam de Manerio nostro de Fforda in usus proprios nobis confirmavit et proventus ad fabricam Ecclesie nostre assignavit. Oblacionem vero pentecostalem a predecessibus suis nobis concessam, Ecclesie nostre veluti Matrici Ecclesie somersetie devotissime confirmavit. Hospitale sancti Johannis in Bathonia, Ecclesie nostre contulit, et de ipso sicuti de propria, elemosinaria nostra nobis disponere concessit. Corpus Beate Eufemie virginis et Martiris^a ecclesie nostre contulit, et plures reliquias sanctorum cum capsulis eburneis. Albam quoque preciosam auro textam amictum quoque, et Mitram sancti Petri chasecasiensis Ecclesie nostre adquisivit. Cereum vero ardere, ante corpus dominicum, et sanctorum reliquias constituit, et quadraginta solidos ad ca⁹ perpetuitatem de Ecclesia de Banewelle, per manus Canoniorum de Briwtone assignavit. Bibliotecam eciam Ecclesie nostre, pluribus libris ditavit. Plura etiam ornamenta Ecclesie nostre contulit scilicet duas Capas preciosas et v meliora et majora pallia. Ecclesiam vero nostram cartis regum de libertatibus, et privilegiis summorum pontificum de dignitatibus sufficienter ditavit. Cujus Anniversarius dies in albis celebretur, et c pauperes reficiantur, et Mensa fratrum copiosius procuretur.

The register of Bath Priory is a manuscript in the library of the Society of Lincoln's Inn, who have kindly allowed this transcript to be made.

^a Cf. Stanley, *Memorials of Canterbury*. App. F. p. 280.

APPENDIX C. (p. 17).

1176—1180.

Bishop Reginald's charter to the town of Wells, confirming bishop Robert's charter forbidding markets in the church court, and giving free markets to Wells (1135-1166).

Carta Domini Reginaldi Episcopi Bathoniensis.

Universis Christi fidelibus ad quos presens carta pervenerit. Rainaldus Divina miseratione Bathon. Episcopus salutem ab auctore salutis.

Ad universitatis vestre notitiam volumus devenire nos cartam Roberti bone memorie Bathon. Episcopi decessoris nostri inspexisse et eam in presenti pagina de verbo ad verbum annotasse

* Robertus Dei gratia Episcopus Bathoniensis universis fidelibus tam clericis tam laicis tam Francis quam Anglis salutem et Dei benedictionem.

Postquam divina vocante clementia pontificatus apicem dignitatis conscendimus summa ad hoc animi intentione desudavimus ut Ecclesiæ beati Andree in Wellis regimini nostro commissæ venerationem debitam impenderemus et ab aliis impendi faceremus ; et si que in ea prave essent consuetudines eas a liminibus ejus pulsaremus et honorem ejus et utilitatem quantum in nobis erat amplificaremus.

Nonnullorum autem constat experientie quod tumultus nundinarum que in eadem ecclesia et in atrio ejus hactenus esse consueverunt ad dedecus et incommodum ejusdem ecclesie accedit, cum in ea ministrantibus quam maxime sit importunus quia et eorum devotionem impedit et orationum quietem perturbat. Verum ne contra vocem divinam domum orationis speluncam patiamur esse negotiationis, statuimus et firmiter precipimus ut quicumque illic in tribus festivitatis videlicet in Inventionem S. Crucis et in festivitate S. Calixti, et in celebritate beati Andree, negotiaturi convenerint in plateis ville illius negotiationes suas securi et ab omni prava consuetudine et in quietudine libere exerceant, et nullatenus ecclesiam vel atrium ecclesie violare presumant.

Concedimus etiam consilio clericorum nostrorum et constituimus ut omnibus in predictis festivitatis et earum vigiliis quieti de teloneo in perpetuum permaneant. Quod quidem in posterum ratum esse volentes presenti scripto commendamus et sigilli nostri impressione roboramus. Testes : Ivo Decanus Wellensis : Reginaldus precentor : Robertus et Thomas Archidiaconi : Edwardus : Magister Eustachius : Willelmus de sancta fide : Radulfus Martre : Willelmus de Atebera : Petrus de Chiu : Walter Pistor : et alii multi clerici et laici.

Nos igitur venerabilis predicti decessoris nostri vestigiis inherentes, ob reverentiam beati Andree Apostoli et ad petitionem Burgensium nostrorum Wellensium omnes consuetudines et libertates negotiatoribus illic in tribus festivitatis et earum vigiliis venientibus ab eo concessas ratas habentes et in posterum illibatas volumus permanere. Adjicientes ut eisdem libertatibus et

* Cf. R. iii. ff. 245, 246.

constuetudinibus in crastino etiam omnium predictarum gaudeant festivitatum; Nobis quidem et successoribus nostris de consensu predictorum Burgensium conductus omnium feldarum medietas in prescriptis nundinis debet in perpetuum remanere.

Que omnia ut rata et intacta in posterum perseuerentur presentis scripti testimonio et sigilli nostri appositione duximus confirmandum.

Hiis testibus: Magistro Willelmo Thesaurario Well': Roberto Subdecano Well': Magistro Rad. de Lichel: Jocelino Capellano: Willelmo de Meleburn: Johanne de Cumb.: Thoma de Dinant.: Gaufrido clerico: Magistro Rogero medico: Michaele clerico: Hugone clerico: Henrico de Armentiis: Willelmo de Erleg: Philippo de Wika: Ricardo de Ken: Walerando de Wellesley: Willelmo de Maulerb': Reginaldo de Wodeford: Eadward de Wellis: Godefr. de Cnoll: Jocelino de Welles: Willelmo de Sept: Henrico Bedello. Hugone fabro. Willelmo forestar. Rad. Cade. Huberto filio Coci. Alfredo mercatore. Raino Ruffe. Gaufr. Ruffo. Rad. Cusin. Willelmo Colo et aliis multis.

Endorsed: Carta dñi Regiñ Ep' Bathon

de tribus nundinis concessis . . .

The silk cord and a fragment of green wax on which is the outline of a bishop's robe and a few letters are attached to the earlier of the two charters.

The seal of the other is in fair preservation (1886); on it is the figure of a bishop in the act of blessing with right hand—a pastoral staff in the left. The legend on it

✠ REGINALDVS DEI GRATIA BATHONIENSIS EPISCOPVS.

Bishop Reginald's charter to the town. Among the charters in the Townhall, Wells.

Carta domini Reginaldi Episcopi Bathon. [A.D. 1174-1180].

Universis Christi fidelibus ad quos presens carta pervenerit Reginaldus Dei gratia Bathoniensis Episcopus salutem in domino.

Patrum et predecessorum nostrorum inherentes vestigiis et eorum auctenticis ducti et docti exemplis quod ipsi sua statuerunt industria nos roborandum duximus auctoritate nobis a deo indulta.

Concedimus ergo juxta tenorem carte predecessoris nostri pie memorie Roberti episcopi villam Wellie Burgum esse in perpetuum et eisdem finibus quibus in eadem carta diffinitum est et prescriptum.

Volumus etiam et concedimus ut quilibet intra easdem metas messagium aliquid in presentiam possidens vel in posterum possessurus nomine burgagii liberam habeat commorandi, recedendi, et revertendi, simulque domos suas impignerandi, vendendi, necnon et donandi nisi domibus religiosis licentiam, secundum propriam sue dispositionis voluntatem, reddituum nostrorum integro jure retento, id est de singulis massagiis duodecim denariis annuis.

Volumus preterea si lis aliqua forte dampnosa intra ambitum massagii alicui eorum [emiserit] liberam habeant potestatem ut administrationes concordες fiant, justitia nostra nullam exigente inde consuetudinem vel emendationem donec Burgenses in justitia defecerint, nisi mortale vulnus vel dampnum corpori perpetuum inflictum fuerit vel etiam nisi aliquis litigantium justicie nostre querimoniam faciat, salva in omnibus justicia regni et dignitate.

Inhibemus etiam ne aliquis in eadem villa pelles crudas vel coria cruda emere presumat nisi fuerit in luna et lagha Burgensium Wellarum.

Huic nostre concessionis et confirmationis testes sunt :

Ricardus Well. decanus.

Ilbert precentor Well.

Henricus Exon et Ricardus Bath archidiaconi.

Robertus Subdecanus.

Johannes de Cumba.

Magister Eustachius.

Godfridus de Hercredeb.

Willelmus et Jocelinus Capellani.

Ernisius clericus filius Theobaldi.

Petrus de Winton.

Thomas de Dinan Wellensis Canonicus.

Willelmus Canonicus de Haselburg.

Adam de Suttone.

Willelmus de Spinenall.

Magister Radulphus de Lechelade.

Gaufridus de Sancto Georgio.

Robertus filius Hamo.

Galfridus Giffard.

Godfridus de Dinre.

Walerannus.

Walcelen de Well.

Gaufridus francus.

The seal and counterseal of the bishop is appended.

APPENDIX D. (pp. 12 and 21).

Confirmation of the possessions of the church of Bath to bishop Reginald, by pope Alexander III. (Sept. 3, 1159-1181) March 4, 1179.

R. iii. f. 266, in dorso.

Confirmatio Alexandri venerabili fratri Rainardo Bathoniensis episcopo ejusque successoribus canonice substituendis in perpetuum; si omnibus fratribus et coepiscopis nostris cogamur ex ministerio susceptæ amministrationis adesse et apostolicum ipsis patrocinium exhibere, tibi tanto fortius tenemur suffragium apostolicæ defensionis impendere et consideratione tue commissam tibi ecclesiam in sua justitia confovere quanto circa nos et Romanam ecclesiam puriorem devotionem genere comprobaris, eamque nobis certioribus indiciis visus es reddere manifestam.

In hac privilegii confirmatione panis, medo, et capreoli sive porci quæ presentantur in crastino paschæ de Glaston.

Qua propter venerabilis in Christo frater episcope tuis justis postulationibus clementer annuimus et Bathoniensem ecclesiam cui Deo auctore preesse dinosceris sub beati Petri et nostra protectione suscepimus et presentis scripti privilegio communimus.

Statuentes ut quascunque possessiones quecunque bona eadem ecclesia in presentiarum juste et canonice possidet aut in futurum concessione pontificum, largitione regum, vel principum oblatione fidelium seu aliis justis modis prestante domino poterit adipisci firma tibi tuisque successoribus et illibata permaneant.

In quibus hæc propriis duximus exprimenda vocabulis.

Totam civitatem Bathonie cum omnibus consuetudinibus extra et infra ut liberius habet rex et civitatem aliquam in tota Anglia, cum moneta, cum teloneo, tam in campis quam in silvis, tam in foro quam in pratis et aliis terris insuper nundinas in festivitibus S^{ci}. Petri et hidagium quod exigebatur de viginti hidis ad eandem civitatem pertinentibus et omnia placita et leges et justitias et omnes consuetudines omnino et adjutoria et si qua sunt alia quæ Rex Willhelmus vel frater ejus Rex Henricus in eadem civitate plenius et liberius habuerunt, quæ ipsi Johanni Episcopo predecessori tuo et successoribus ejus in perpetuum concesserunt et cartis suis confirmaverunt præterea confirmamus, quod manerium de Calveston [Kelston] sit in hundredo Bathonie et in justicia tua sicut prefatus Rex Henricus concessit et confirmavit, parcum etiam et warennam bertonam Hantonam Fordam Clavertonam Lincumban cum molendinis et aliis appendiciis earum in terris aquis pratis pascuis in bosco et plano cum omnibus consuetudinibus et libertatibus earum eidem civitati adjacentibus et omnia alia ad eandem civitatem pertinentia.

Ecclesiam de Wellis cum universis prebendis suis et ipsum manerium cum Wochi et Westberie cum parco suo cum feodis militum et ffranchelanorum et terris rusticorum ad idem manerium pertinentia cum boscis et planis pratis et pascuis molendinis et vineis aquis et omnibus aliis appendiciis suis.

Ecclesiam de Chyu et ipsum manerium cum omnibus pertinentiis et libertatibus suis.

Villam de Yatton cum omnibus pertinentiis et libertatibus suis.

Villam de Banewel et Villam de Cumton cum portu de Radeclive et parte villæ quam habes in Axebrugg ad Banewell pertinente cum omnibus pertinentiis et libertatibus suis.

Ecclesiam de Ceddre et duas hidas in eadem villæ.

Ecclesiam de Evercrez et ipsum manerium cum omnibus pertinentiis et libertatibus suis.

Terram de Merk que est in Wedmor, quam prefatus Henricus rex predecessori tuo concessit et confirmavit.

Ecclesiam de Kingsbere et ipsum manerium cum hundredo et omnibus pertinentiis et libertatibus suis.

Et Ecclesiam de Cerde et ipsum manerium.

Et Ecclesiam de Hiwis et ipsum manerium cum omnibus pertinentiis et libertatibus suis in terris pratis pascuis bosco et pasturis.

Ecclesiam de Walenton et ipsum manerium cum Bokelande et ceteris pertinentiis et libertatibus suis.

Ecclesiam et villam de Lidiard cum hundredo et ceteris pertinentiis et libertatibus.

Ecclesiam et villam de Wivelescumb cum hundredo cum omnibus pertinentiis et libertatibus suis et Ffidam similiter.

Ecclesiam de Dorkemefeld et ipsum manerium cum socha sachæ et tol et theam et infan-genethrop cum omnibus aliis pertinentiis et libertatibus suis in bosco plano pratis et pascuis que memoratus Rex Henricus predecessor tuo et ecclesie Bathoniensi reddidit concessit et carta sua confirmavit ejus successor Henricus rex secundus similiter eandem tibi concessit et reddidit cum domibus Winthorne et carta propria confirmavit sicut jus tuum et ecclesia tuæ tenendum in libera et perpetua elemosyna ; feodum etiam de Dinra quod idem rex tibi reddidit et ecclesiæ tuæ et carta sua confirmavit, quod Henricus de Tille cum ecclesia de Dochemefeld et ipso manerio in curia memorati regis tibi et ecclesie tue quiete clamavit.

Apud Gatinton terram de salinis et ipsas salinas et omnes pertinentes in nova foresta et duas hidas in Cherleton. Præterea duos panes certæ quantitatis et duos barilos medonis certæ mensure et duos capreolos vel duos porcos que annuatim in secunda feria pasche tibi redduntur et ecclesiæ Wellensi a monasterio Glastoniensi a tempore beati Dunstani ex ipsius institutione.

Præterea de benignitate apostolica tibi duximus indulgendam ut liceat tibi priorem ecclesiæ tuæ pro manifesta causa depositione digna cum consilio capituli vel aliorum religiosorum virorum a prioratu sine contradictione qualibet amovere.

Ad hec apostolica auctoritate statuimus ut a monasteriis monachorum vel monialium et in ecclesia regularibus que in tuo Episcopatu consistunt, eam decreti de cetero habeas potestatem quam predecessores tui et tu ipse usque ad hoc tempora in eis noscimini rationabiliter habuisse. Prohibemus insuper ut infra (intra) Episcopatum tuum sine assensu et auctoritate tua vel successorum tuorum salvis autenticis scriptis apostolica sedis nullus de novo ecclesiam vel oratorium construendi habeat facultatem.

Si quando vero abbates vel priores aut alii ad tuam jurisdictionem spectantes qui religiosis locis tui Episcopatus precesse noscuntur tibi in his rebelles et inobedientes extiterunt in quibus obedientiam et reverentiam exhibere tenentur, fas tibi sit in eos canonice sententiam promulgare advocatis autem conventualibus seu parochialibus ecclesiis tue jurisdictionis qui non habent in

ipsis ecclesiis quicquid aliud præter jus patronatus easdem ecclesias ordinandi vel in eis quidquam temeritate propria statuendi sine auctoritate et concurrentia tua omnem intercludimus facultatem metropolitano quoque tuo, sine speciali mandato Romani pontificis in eisdem ecclesiis te inconsulto nisi causam super his ad eum per appellationem deferri contingeret aut apostolicæ legationis obtentu quicquam statuere liceat, vel rite sive manifesta et rationabili causa sententiam promulgare—præsentī etiam scripto tibi duximus indulgendum ut si quando abbates priores vel aliæ personæ que ad tua synoda venire tenentur et precipue que tibi professionem fecerunt ad synoda vocati non venerunt, in eas de auctoritate nostra nisi canonicam excusationem probaverint, animadversionem tibi liceat canonicam exercere.

Illas autem qui super justitiis tuis quas aliquando tibi nolunt exsolvere vel pro alia causa a te duxerunt appellandum appellatione remota liceat tibi compellere, et infra certum et convenientem terminum quem eis præfixeris appellationem interpositam exequantur vel ad mandatum tuum juxta rigorem juris super his pro quibus appellatum est, tibi satisfactionem exhibeant competentem.

Religiosos vero vel alios ecclesiasticos viros ad tuam ordinationem spectantes si qui te presente sive tua vel te absente sive archidiaconi tui licencia, ordines ab episcopis receperunt alienis infra episcopatum tuum in ordinibus taliter receptis sive tuo vel successorum tuorum assensu ministrare penitus prohibemus. Si qui autem monachi canonici aut alii religiosi viri clerici vel laici in ecclesias tui episcopatus ad presentationem eorum spectantes earum personis decedentibus intrudere seipsos vel alios sine tua auctoritate presumpserint taliter intrusos dummodo excessus eorum sit publicus et notorius ab eisdem ecclesiis fas tibi sit remove. Et in ipsas si ad mandatum tuum cedere forte noluerint ecclesiasticam sententiam promulgare, præterea benedictiones et professiones abbatum tui episcopatus nec non etiam institutiones et ordinationes ecclesiarum omnes quæ in tuo episcopatu consistunt.

Another page follows with the usual warning and saving clauses.

Then follow the signatures of pope Alexander and the cardinals.

Eighteen cardinals sign.

Datum Laterano, per manum Alberti Sancte Romane Ecclesie Presbiteri Cardinalis et Cancellarii.

IV. Cal. Martis Indictione XI. Incarnationis Dominicæ Anno Millesimo Centesimo lxxviii^o pontificatus vero domini Alexandri Pape tertii anno vicesimo. (1159-1179.)

APPENDIX E (p. 22).

Carta Regis Ricardi de prebendis et terris de novo adquisitis.

R. iii. f. 13.

Richard by the Grace of God king of England, etc.

Know that we have granted and by this present charter have confirmed to God and the church of Saint Andrew in Wells, and to Reinaud Bishop of Bath and his successors for ever, all donations of churches and other benefices made to him and the aforesaid church as the charters of the givers do testify, viz. :

1. *By the gift of Robert abbot of Glastonbury and the convent there, the church of Pylton and the church of South Brent.*

By a composition between the two ecclesiastical magnates, the bishop and the abbot, whose territories and jurisdictions marched together, two prebends were made by the gift of Pilton, of which the abbot held one, and became a member of the bishop's chapter. By the cession of South Brent, archidiaconal jurisdiction was given to the abbot over seven of the churches of the Twelve Hides of Glastonbury, and was exercised by a special officer, the abbot's archdeacon, exempt from the bishop's jurisdiction.

No longer a prebend. The abbot afterwards gave up the prebend. Pilton became a peculiar in the jurisdiction of the precentor of Wells.

2. *By gift of Richard de Camvilla, the church of Hengestrigg, in perpetuam praebendam.*

Henstridge, near Wincanton, on the Dorset border, was the gift of Richard de Camvilla, Henry's envoy to Sicily to conduct Joanna, his daughter, to be the wife of William king of Sicily, in 1176. He was present at Richard's coronation, 1189, commanded the English fleet which took Richard on the Crusade, was justiciar of Cyprus, and died at Acre 1191. Gerard, son of Richard, was sheriff of Lincolnshire, and one of the chief opponents of Longchamp the chancellor during the regency in Richard's absence. He confirms the grant of his father, and archbishop Richard (1174-1184) attests it. Charlton Camvill, now Charlton Horethorne, in Somerset, granted to bishop Robert by Richard de Camvilla (*Ad. de Domerham*, i. 298), and Clifton Camville, in Staffordshire, bear witness to the family estates in both counties. Henstridge is a prebend at the present time.

3. *By gift of Oliver de Dynham, the church of Bokelande, in perpetuam praebendam.*

Buckland Dinham, near Frome, and Corton Dinham, near Sherborne, probably received names from Dinan, in Brittany, the original seat of a family which had lands also in Devon and Cornwall. Hugh de Dinan held under William de Tracy ; also under William de Braosa of the honour of Barnstaple (*Berdestaple*) in Devon. Buckland Dinham is a prebend at the present time.

4. *By gift of William Fitzjohn of Harpetre, the church of Estharpetre.*

William of Harpetre, one of the family of Lovel of Cary, had before this made restitution to the bishop of his fee of Dynre (Dinder), which his father had taken from bishop Robert. He now added this gift of the church of East Harptre, *in perpetuam praebendam*. East Harptre is a prebend at the present time.

5. *By gift of William Fitzwilliam, the church of Haselbergh, in perpetuam praebendam.*

Haselbury, near Crewkerne, was the scene of the hermit Wulfrio's life and miracles; his cell there was visited by bishop Robert in 1154.^a Haselbere is a prebend at the present time.

6. *By gift of Hamon of Blakeford, the church of Scanderford, in perpetuam praebendam.*

Blackford in Wedmore or near Wincanton; Scanderford in Essex, now Shalford, is a prebend at the present time.

All these gifts are confirmed by an earlier deed of bishop Reginald,^b and were given during dean Spakeston's time, between 1174-1180.

7. *By gift of Gerberte de Perci and Matilda Arundel, the church of Compton and the church of Bromfeld.*

Gerbert or Gilbert de Perci gave the church of Childcompton, on the Mendip, "*quantum ad dominum fundi pertinet*," *in perpetuam praebendam*. Matilda de Arundel, his wife, gave the church of Bromfield, on the Quantock range, "*in perpetuam eleemosinam*." Childcompton was alienated to Bradenstoke. No longer a prebend.

8. *By gift of Alan de Fornellis, the church of Cudeworth with Cnoll chapel, in perpetuam praebendam.*

Alan de Fornellis (Furneaux), one of Henry's justiciars in 1179, lord of Kilveton, Somerset, held lands in Devon at the time, under the bishop, and under Robert, the king's son. One of the same name was sheriff of Cornwall in Richard's reign. Cudworth is a prebend at the present time.

9. *By gift of James of Montsorel, the church of Wytelakyngton, in praebendam.*

The castle of Montsereau, in Anjou, besieged by Henry of Normandy, afterwards Henry II. in 1151, or the great fortress in the earldom of Leicester, Mount Sorel, we may suppose to be the seat of the family, who now owned Whitelackington, which was Roger Arundel's demesne in 1084 (*vide* Eyton, D. S.). Whitelackington is a prebend at the present time.

Three gifts from Devonshire landowners follow.

10. *By gift of Jocelin de Treminet, the church of Aulescomb, in praebendam.*

Aulescomb, on the south side of the Blackdown hills, near Honiton, "*in Agro Devoniensi et Dioecesi Exon*." No longer a prebend.

^a Matt. Paris, ii. 203. *Som. Arch. Proc.* vol. xix. part i. 28.

^b Bishop Reginald's *Confirmatio*, R. i. folio 24; R. iii. folio 10.

11. *By gift of Oliver de Traci, the church of Bovey, in praebendam.*

Oliver de Tracy—Traci, near Bayeux, in Normandy—a large landholder in Devon, represented the family of William de Tracy, one of the murderers of St. Thomas. William de Tracy held the honour of Tracy, in Devon, consisting of twenty knight's fees, at the same time.

12. *By gift of Radulf son of Bernard, the church of Holcombe and Lameia, in praebendam.*

Holcombe Regis, in Devon, probably. Lameia does not appear elsewhere. There is a Holcombe in Somerset. Holcome gives name to a prebend at the present time.

13. . . . , *the church of Ceddar.*

The name of the giver of the church of Cheddar is omitted here (R. i. folio 27). About this time the prior and convent of Bradenstoke, in Wiltshire, gave all their rights in the church of Cheddar to Alexander, dean and canon of Wells—witnessed by Walter, prior of Bath; and bishop Reginald gave to the convent of Bradenstoke, with the assent of Alexander, the dean, and the canons, the church of Childcompton, the dean reserving the jurisdiction over it as once a prebendal church (Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ii. folio 209). R. i. f. 27. In 1240 bishop Jocelin confirmed Cheddar to the chapter. R. i. f. 30.

14. *By gift of the sisters Alicia, Christina, and Sara, the church of Tymberscombe, in praebendam.*

Another sister, Cecilia, is mentioned in the bishop's confirmation act: the husbands are named as consenting parties. One, John de Columpstock (Collumpton), was a Devonshire landowner. Timberscombe is a prebend at the present time.

15. *By gift of Robert de Bolevill, the church of Lideford, in praebendam.*

One Richard de Bonneville (Bonneville on the Tonneques, in Normandy) was holding land at this time in Devon. Robert de Boleville, or Bonneville, made the grant in bishop Robert's time. A suit arose with his brother John, which was arranged in 1187 and impropriation made. West Lydford is no longer a prebend.

16. *By gift of Radulf Wac, the church of Doveliz.*

Dowliswake, in South Petherton hundred, is not mentioned elsewhere in the register.

One Baldwin Wac (Wake) was present at Richard's coronation, and afterwards one of Richard's hostages in Germany. Dowliswake, near Ilminster, is the church which preserves the name of the family. Howden, iii. 14, and 233.

17. *By gift of Simon Bozun, the church of Karenton.*

In the register of the priory of Bath, f. 4, the prior and convent grant the vicarage of Carentan to Walter the clerk. Simon Buzun is witness.

Simon Bozun, knight, one of a family of landholders also in Devon, granted Karenton (Carthampton); he retained the appointment for his life to the prebend. It then reverted to the bishop. Carthampton, near Dunster, in West Somerset, or perhaps Carentan, in Cotentin, Normandy, was the original seat of the family. The Bohun family came from near Carentan, where is S. André de Bohun and S. George de Bohun.

18. *By gift of Stephen son of David, a moiety of the church of Waleton.*

19. *By gift of Matilda de Chandos, the church of Stoweia, in perpetuam eleemosinam.*

Maude de Chandos was heiress of Robert de Chandos, who died 1120, the founder of Goldclive, with Isabella, his wife, daughter of Alured de Hispania, Domesday lord of Nether Stowey. Maude married Philip de Colombiers in 1166, who held eleven knights' fees in Devon and Somerset.

20. *By gift of Alured de Punston, the church of Berewe.*

Alured de Ponsot, or Ponsard, or Punston, lord of South Barrow. One of a group of grants made by Robert of Cary, lord of Lovington, and Nicholas of North Barrow—members of the family of Lovel of Castle Cary.

21. *By gift of Radulf Fitz-William, the church of Werminstere, in praebendam.*

Grant of Warminster, in Wilts, the church of St. Dionysius, by Ralph, son of William (Malet?).

22. *By gift of Galfred Talbot, half a virgate of land at Norham, with all the meadow which he had there, in perpetuam eleemosinam.*

Norham, in North Curry hundred.

23. *By our gift, the manor of North Cory with the church and all its appurtenances.*

The church or manor of North Curry, Wrentieh, and West Hache, were grants of crown lands after purchase by the bishop from king Richard, when he was raising money for the needs of the Crusade by sale of lands and offices (R. ii. folio 90). They were bought by the bishop from the crown, and made over by him as a benefaction to augment the common funds of the canons, and formed the largest manorial possession of the chapter. The manor of North Curry included the hundred, and was a great lordship.

At the same time, on the same occasion, and doubtless on the same conditions of heavy payments, bishop Reginald obtained from king Richard charters confirmatory of all the grants and privileges made to the see by his predecessors from William II.'s time.

APPENDIX F (p. 14).

Monasticon of Somerset in the time of bishop Reginald.

(I am indebted to the Right Rev. Bishop Hobhouse for this table).

Name and Order.	Founder.	Date.
<i>Benedictine.</i>		
Glastonbury.	Unknown.	
Bath.	King Osric.	676.
Muchelney.	King Athelstan.	939.
Athelney.	King Alfred.	888.
Dunster. (Cell to Bath.)	William Mohun I.	1080.
<i>Augustinian Canons.</i>		
Bruton.	William Mohun II.	1143.
Taunton.	Giffard and H. de Blois, bishops of Winchester.	temp. Stephen and Henry II.
Keynsham.	Earl of Gloucester.	1167.
Stavordale.	The Barons Lovel of Cary.	12th cent.
Barlinch.	The Say family.	1175.
Woodspring.	The Courteney family.	1210.
<i>Cistercian.</i>		
Cleeve.	De Romarâ, earl of Lincoln.	1188.
<i>Carthusian.</i>		
Witham.	King Henry II.	1174.
Hinton.	Ela Longespée, countess of Salisbury.	1222.
<i>Cluniac.</i>		
Montacute.	Earl of Mortaigne.	1068.
<i>Alien.</i>		
Stoke Courcy	De Courcy family.	temp. Hen. II.
A cell to the Benedictine abbey of Lonley, Normandy.		
<i>Nunneries.</i>		
Mynchin Barrow.	Gournay family.	before 1212.
Mynchin Buckland.	W. de Erlegh.	1166 and 1199.
Canington.	De Courcy family.	c. 1140.
White Hall, Ilchester.	William Denys.	c. 1216.

XX.—*Notes on an Ancient Boat found at Brigg.* By ALFRED ATKINSON, A.M.
Inst. C.E.

Read 26 November, 1886.

IN the month of April, 1886, during the excavation of a pit at the Brigg gas-works, a most interesting boat, of a very primitive type, was found. The upper edges of the sides were first bared; and, as these differed from the "car wood" or buried trees which are so often found in the neighbourhood, the workmen fortunately made a further examination, instead of chopping up the timber to remove it piecemeal. It was then seen to be a boat, in a very fair state of preservation.

The vessel lay almost at right angles to the old channel of the river Ancholme, the stern being next the stream, and about twenty-five yards away from the water. The place is on the right bank of the river, and some 250 yards below the County Bridge at Brigg. The upper edge of the boat was 2 feet below the surface of the ground at the bow, and 3 feet 7 inches at the stern; the outside of the bottom being at the same places 4 feet 9 inches and 6 feet 11 inches deep.



Fig. 1. SKETCH SHOWING THE POSITION OF THE BOAT.

The vessel rested in and upon the alluvial clay of the Ancholme valley, which had evidently grown around and inside the boat by slow degrees, creeping into and filling every chink and cranny and rift in the wood. This clay in its natural state is moist and soft, and it acts as a wonderful preserver of timber. The wood buried in it is, when first found, so saturated with water that it is almost in a pulpy state; but as it dries it hardens rapidly. Unfortunately, it has, at the same time, a strong tendency to split as the moisture leaves it.

The boat is made out of one huge log of oak, which has been "dug out" or hollowed; the butt or root end of the tree being used for the stern. The length over all is 48 feet 6 inches, and the width originally varied from 4 feet 3 inches at the bows to 4 ft. 6 inches at the stern. The depth outside is 2 feet 8 inches at the bows, and 3 feet 1 inch to 3 feet 4 inches at the stern.

The log appears to have been hewn to an approximately square section, the sides and bottom being flattened. The bows when seen from above are almost semi-circular, and are gradually rounded off into the bottom and sides.

At the stern, where the wood is "end-on of the grain," it is left much thicker than at the sides and bottom; being at the former place about 16 inches through. In each bow there is a hole about 12 inches in diameter. The grain of the wood shows that these are the places where the first great branches of the tree grew. The holes are fitted with plugs, whose ends are rounded off, so as to form a kind of boss. The after-end of the boat has not been made by leaving the solid timber, as in the bows, but by having a separate stern-board or transom fitted. In hollowing the vessel a kind of ridge was left (see fig. 3) at the stern, extending across the bottom and up the sides. This is about 8 inches deep, and 15 inches wide across the floor, diminishing in depth as it approached the top of the boat. In this ridge a square-shaped groove is cut, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width and depth. This groove received the stern-board (fig. 2), which was found a little way from the boat. It is not made of oak, but of some softer wood, and measures 4 feet wide at the top, and 2 feet $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches deep. The bottom half is rounded off in the manner shown in the drawing. This stern-board is made of two planks, $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 inches thick. It was made water-tight by a caulking of moss, which was driven into the groove. The sides of the boat are continued for about 2 feet beyond the stern-board, and are cut obliquely with a slight curve so as to form an overhanging counter; the board itself being perpendicular.

In each gunwale (to use a convenient but not strictly correct term), and abaft the stern-board, two holes are pierced. The first is quite close to the board, the

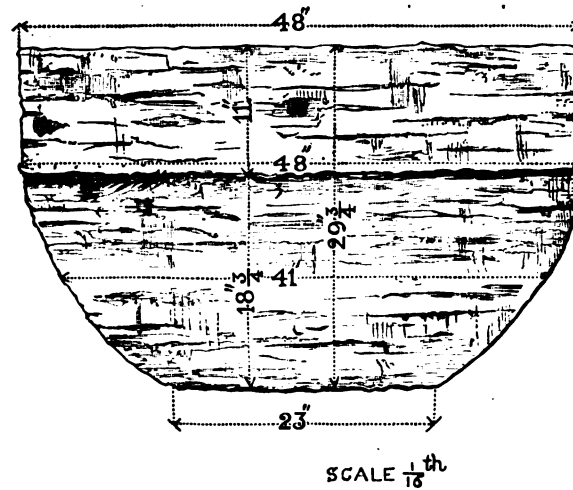


Fig. 2. SKETCH OF STERN-BOARD.

other at the extreme end of the counter. These have evidently been made to receive a lashing or twitch, passing from gunwale to gunwale, to hold the sides of

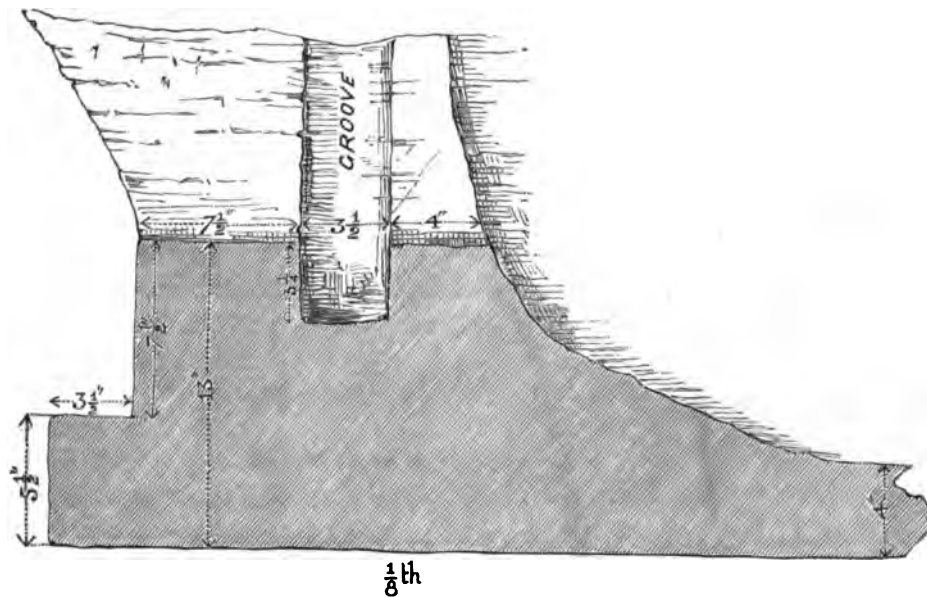


Fig. 3. LONGITUDINAL SECTION OF BOTTOM OF BOAT, SHOWING GROOVE FOR STERN-BOARD.

the boat tightly against the edges of the stern-board. There is no evidence of any other mode of fastening. All the length of the boat, and just below the gunwale, holes seem to have been pierced through the sides. These holes are about

2 feet apart, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 inches in diameter. They have possibly been for lashings to hold the sides of the boat together, beams or stretchers being fixed here and there to keep them the proper distance apart. When the boat was first found, such a stretcher extended between the gunwales. It was made of silver birch, with the bark left on.

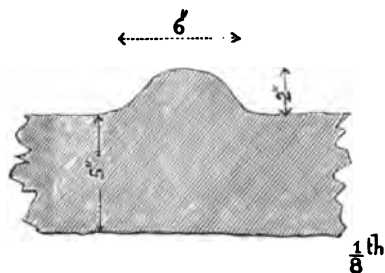


Fig. 4. SECTION OF FLOOR-RIDGE.

In hollowing the boat, three ridges of timber have been left, crossing the boat athwartships. They are about 6 inches wide, and almost half-round in section (fig. 4). These ridges correspond with the floor timbers of a modern craft. In the stern there are shelves or brackets, projecting inboards from each side, about 5 inches below the gunwale. These extend forwards from the stern-board for 6 feet,

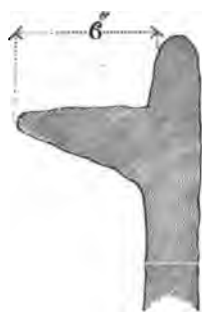


Fig. 5.
SECTION OF SHELF AT STERN.

and appear to have been made to carry a kind of after deck. At 4 feet and 7 feet 3 inches from the bow, small brackets have been left on each side. These are about 9 inches long; the first pair are 9 inches below the gunwale, and the second 11 inches. These appear to have carried thwarts or seats. At a distance of 7 feet 3 inches from the bow, there is a hole $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter through the middle of the floor; this was stopped with a plug. A similar hole, 2 inches in diameter, was found near the stern. These may possibly have been used for letting water out when the boat was hauled up from the water. There is no indication of any provision having been made for a mast or rigging. In the bows there is a sort of hollow, which was supposed to have been made for a bowsprit. It is however more probable that it is the result of natural decay, as a bowsprit would not be required in a vessel without sails or rigging. There is a kind of notch in each gunwale near the bows, which may have served the purpose of rowlocks, or they may be places that have been broken out since the boat was disused.

The upper edges of the boat have suffered more from exposure to weather and from accident than the sides and bottom; and the forward part has been more injured than the after end. The bottom of the boat is split quite through in the centre, near the stern; but this may have taken place since the boat was abandoned. In the starboard bilge there is also an extensive rift, which either existed when the vessel was originally made, or took place during the time it

was in use. This crack had been partly repaired by caulking with moss, and partly by patches of oak. The largest of these patches is 5 feet 8 inches long, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide in the middle, tapering almost to a point at each end. It was "let in" from the outside of the boat, so as to leave the surface flush. On the inside of the patch, three cleats or projections have been left, carved out of the solid wood. These cleats are lengthwise of the patch, and are about 12 inches long, and 4 inches deep. In the middle of each cleat a hole has been made. The cleats passed through the split in the side of the boat, projecting on the inside, and wooden pins were then driven through the holes, so as to bear on the firm wood on each side of the rift. The patch was further fastened by being sewed on with a twisted cord, through holes about $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch in diameter, and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches apart. These holes are made round the edge of the patch, and corresponding holes were bored through the side of the boat. The smaller patches were secured entirely by similar lacing, or by small pegs. The cord, when examined under the microscope, shows a structure resembling fibrous tissue, and probably it has been formed of twisted sinews. The mosses used for caulking have been identified as species which grow in woods on sandy soils.*

The dimensions of the boat are more particularly stated in the following table:—

* The Rev. H. W. Lëtt, M.A., of Aghaderg Glebe, co. Down, has examined the moss, and he contributes the following note to the *Scientific Enquirer* for July 1886:—

"The moss which formed the caulking in the pre-historic ship recently brought to light at Brigg consists of portions of two species.

That which is most abundant in the specimen is *Thuidium tamariscinum*. It has a dull appearance, arising from the leaves being covered all over with minute papillæ, or soft superficial glands, and the stem is densely clotted with paraphyllæ, or downy rootlets; both these features are quite distinct and well preserved in the portions examined, which, instead of being green, are brownish. This is one of the most common and beautiful of our *Hypnums*, or cushion-mosses, and a bank covered with its green branches, which grow out in the manner of a miniature fern, is a lovely sight. It is still much used by the makers of artificial flowers for some purposes of their trade.

The other is *Hypnum triquetrum*, a stout, erect plant, of a bright shining green, that is permanent even when dry. The specimen retains its shining appearance, but the green has been changed to olive by the conditions under which it lay buried in the old craft. This is the moss commonly used for making moss baskets, for which purpose it is sold in the London markets.

The habitats of these mosses are banks in woods, where they may often be found growing together, as doubtless they did when the inhabitants of Lincolnshire plucked their handfuls in days of old to serve the purpose for which oakum is now used."

Distance from bows.		Remarks.	Depth inside.		Width at top outside.		Width at bottom outside.	
Feet.	Inches.		Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.
2	0	Hole in port bow about 12 inches diameter.						
2	6	Hole in starboard ditto.						
4	0	Brackets for thwart 9 inches below gunwale.						
4	6	_____	2	4	4	3	3	6
7	3	Hole through floor, amidships, 1½ inches diameter, with plug.						
7	3	Brackets for thwart, 9 inches long, 11 inches below gunwale.						
8	3	Floor-ridge.						
9	0	Beginning of split in starboard bilge.						
10	0	_____	2	4	4	9	3	6
12	9	Floor-ridge.						
18	9	ditto.						
20	0	_____	—		5	1		
21	0	End of split in starboard bilge.	—		—		3	5
30	0	_____	2	5	5	7	3	0
40	0	Shelves or brackets 5 inches below gunwale begins.						
41	6	Hole through floor amidships, about 2½ inches diameter.						
46	3	Centre of groove for stern-board.	2 9 has been 3 0		5	5	4	6
		Hole through port gunwale close abaft.						
46	11	Extreme length of bottom.						
47	8	Hole in port gunwale.						
48	6	End of counter = extreme length of boat.						
		Average thickness of sides 2 inches.						
		Ditto bottom 4 inches.						

These dimensions were taken after the boat was removed from the excavation. The widths at the top are probably greater than the original size of the boat, owing to the sides falling outwards. This is clearly the case at the stern, the original size of which can be ascertained from the stern-board. The outside width as shown by the board was 4 feet 6 inches, but it now measures 5 feet 5 inches.

In the bottom of the boat, outside and near the bows, there is a hole apparently left by a dead knot in the wood. This was filled with bladder-wrack, a common seaweed.

By drawing sections of the boat to scale it is found that the smallest circumscribing circle at the stern is 5 feet 4 inches in diameter. Those figures give the minimum dimensions of the oak log; and to them at least 6 inches must be added for sap-wood and bark to find the size of the tree.

Mr. W. Stephenson, of Scarborough (who was one of the first to draw public attention to the discovery of the boat), is an authority on matters relating to trees and timber. He is familiar with all the large trees now growing in England, and says there are none in existence that can compare in size with the enormous tree out of which this boat was constructed. There are trees of larger diameter, but the length of the trunk is much less. Mr. Stephenson believes that the tree was hollow at the heart, and that the hollow extended into the first great lateral branches, which grew about 50 feet above the ground. This accounts for the plugs in the holes in the bows, and for the necessity of having a separate stern-board. Also, probably, for the place in the head of the boat which has been supposed to receive a bowsprit. The natural habit of oak trees is to throw out branches within a few feet of the ground; and it is only when growing in a dense forest, closely surrounded by other trees, that a straight stem shoots up devoid of branches.

It is inconceivable that the constructors of this vessel had the means of felling an oak tree 6 feet in diameter. We must therefore conclude that the tree had completed the term of its natural existence, and had at last fallen through sheer old age. The workmen would find the tree hollowed to their hands, and the work would be finished, perhaps, partly by burning.

The groove in the stern, and the edges of the patches are cut in so clean a manner that metallic rather than stone tools have probably been used. But no vestige of metal was found in or about the boat.

The ground in which the ship was found corresponds exactly with that where the old timber roadway was discovered two years ago, except that the dark bluish alluvial clay is much thicker. The site of the road is 500 yards north-west from the boat. A description of this road, and a section of the ground, are given in the Proceedings of this Society for May 8th., 1884;^a and also a short sketch of the

^a 2nd Series, x. 110.

post-glacial geology of the Ancholme valley. The beds passed through in digging are in the following order, beginning at the top:—

- a. Surface soil.
 - b. Peat and forest bed.
 - c. Brown alluvial clay
 - d. Dark blueish grey alluvial clay
 - e. Peat and forest bed.
 - f. Drift.
- } With remains of sedges.

The upper edges of the boat were slightly above the junction of the two clay-beds. Since the discovery of the boat, a further light has been thrown on the formation of these beds. Mr. Edmund Grove, A.M. Inst. C.E., of Saltburn, has kindly made a very careful microscopic investigation of the clays, for the purpose of detecting any diatomaceous remains. After preparing some of the brown clay for examination, he says, he “found the following species of *Diatomaceæ* very sparingly present. I give the W. Smith nomenclature”—

				No. of specimens observed.
Navicula formosa.	Greg.	-	-	2
„ Jennerii.	W. S.	-	-	1
„ interrupta	Kütz.	-	-	3
Tryblionella marginata.		-	-	2
Nitzschia bilobata.	W. S.	-	-	1 ?
Campylodiscus cribrus.	W. S.	-	-	2
Coscinodiscus radiatus.		-	-	4
Actinoptychus undulatus.		-	-	7
Auliscus (Eupodiscus, Sm.) sculptus.		-	-	2
Podosira maculata.	W. S.	-	-	4
Melosira (Orthosira, Sm.) marina.		-	-	several short filaments

The above was the total result of many examinations, so that the diatoms are very scarce. Mr. Grove further says, “They are all marine forms, and occurred, with only one or two exceptions, in complete frustules; and, in some cases, two or more complete frustules together. From this, and the fact that I found no fresh-water forms, I conclude that the place was a lagoon or hollow, out of the way of the stream, but accessible to the tide, which washed the diatoms in in a living state. *Auliscus sculptus*, the two specimens of which were perfect frustules,

not water-worn, flourishes in Smyrna sponges, but is found also abundantly in the alluvium of the Thames at Sheerness, and of the Elbe at Cuxhaven." In a sample of the grey clay, Mr. Grove found acicular sponge spicules, but no trace of diatomaceæ.

This investigation shows that the lagoon which the ancient vessel navigated was in open communication with the sea and the Humber. The presence of the sedges indicates however that the water was not very salt. Too much so, probably, for the existence of fresh-water diatoms, and not salt enough for those of marine type to flourish. It would only be high spring tides that could drive salt water so far up the valley, forcing back the fresh water drainage that flowed from the surrounding hills. Mr. Grove's result also indicates that the blue-grey and the brown clay were deposited under very different circumstances, the latter is altogether subsequent to the period when the boat found its long resting-place. The present alluvium or "warp" with which the Humber is now so highly charged is of quite a distinct character from the two clays below the upper peat. Indeed, the bed of the Humber is cut in these clays, and for some distance from that river up the Ancholme valley, the clay is covered with a bed of recent alluvium or warp.

The physical conditions of the Humber itself must, therefore, have been very different in the days of the boat from what they are at present. Long after the old ship was wrecked or abandoned, an elevation of the ground converted the lagoon into dry land, on which an extensive forest grew, decayed and perished. The trunks of enormous oak trees, mixed with the remains of yew, birch, and hazel are frequently found in the upper peat. Another subsidence turned the Level of Ancholme again into a morass, which has been artificially drained within a comparatively recent period.

It has been suggested that this ship may have been made since the Roman occupation. But, on the other hand, the Roman remains are only found in the upper peat, which is of later date than the boat; probably, even the forest which grew over the boat had perished before the Roman period. The existence, a few miles away, of what is doubtless a Roman way across the marsh, tends to prove this.

The Roman roads were essentially military roads; they ran direct from point to point, regardless of villages or local requirements, being made solely for rapid communication. One of the most important ways—the Ermine Street—runs on the west side of the Ancholme valley, and scarcely swerves from a straight line in the thirty miles between Lincoln and the Humber. On the east side of the valley

there was an important Roman station at Caistor. Of course it would be found desirable to provide a means of communication between Caistor and the Ermine Street, but there was the valley and swamp to cross. This difficulty was surmounted, and the remains we find to-day show how it was done. The road was made from Redbourne, on the Ermine Street, towards Caistor, crossing the Ancholme Level in North Kelsey. From the remains it appears that the road or viaduct was formed of rows of oak piles, which carried a platform. Now the important evidence given by this road is the fact that the heads of the piles are found in the upper peat, where they show many signs of decay. The lower portions, which were driven into the clay, are well preserved. The deduction is that the road was made *after* the forest period, and when the Level was again a bog; because oak-trees cannot grow in a swamp, and a forest can be crossed without a timber viaduct. If that be the case, the brown clay was deposited and the forest grew and fell between the time of the boat and the making of the Roman road.

Dug-out boats of more or less rude construction have been found in several places in Great Britain before. The Clyde has been especially rich. Mr. J. Dalrymple Duncan, F.S.A. Scot., informs us,* that up to 1856 eighteen canoes had been found in or near Glasgow. In 1847, during the widening of the Clyde, twelve more canoes were discovered; and five were found in 1852, one in 1853, and one in 1854, five during 1856 to 1859, and two subsequently. The last was found in 1882 in an imperfect condition, the stern being wanting. The remaining portion measured about 24 feet long, and 3 feet 6 inches at the widest part. Mr. Duncan assumes that it was originally 30 feet long and 5 feet wide at the stern. The next boat in point of size was 14 feet long and 4 feet 1 inch wide; and the smallest was 11 feet 10 inches long and 2 feet wide.

In the historical department of the National Museum at Stockholm there is a similar boat, which was found in the Mosjö (moss-lake) in Nerike. It is 22 feet long, and is stated to be of the stone age.

The ship-building of such skilled workmen as the Romans must have been of a very superior kind to these rude dug-outs. And in Scandinavia naval architecture had made a wonderful advance before the building of the beautiful ship found a year or two ago at Gokstad, in the Sandefjord.

This vessel is very fully and minutely described and illustrated in a book entitled "The Viking-Ship, discovered at Gokstad in Norway; described by N. Nicolaysen," Christiania, Cammermeyer, 1882.

* *Trans. Glasgow Archaeol. Soc.* Part II. vol. xi. p. 121

XXI.—*Notes from the Records of the Manor of Bottesford, Lincolnshire.*
By EDWARD PEACOCK, *F.S.A.*

Read December 2, 1886.

BOTTESFORD is a small village in the parts of Lindsey and wapentake of Manley, in the county of Lincoln. The parish before recent alterations consisted of the townships of Bottesford, Ashby, Burringham, Holme, and Yaddlethorpe, and of about half of East Butterwick. The manor of Bottesford extends over the greater part of Bottesford and Yaddlethorpe, and over the whole of that part of East Butterwick that is in Bottesford parish. Except in the case of East Butterwick the boundaries of the townships and the manor are not quite the same. There is a farm in Bottesford and another in Yaddlethorpe that are members of the great manor of Kirton in Lindsey, and on the other hand there were outlying portions of the manor of Bottesford in Brumby, Ashby, Messingham, and other places.

Before the fall of the religious houses the manor of Bottesford had been for a long period in the possession of the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem. Its medieval history, though interesting on many accounts, must not be dwelt upon now. In the thirty-seventh year of Henry the Eighth the king sold it, with other property, to Charles Sutton, Esq., who is described as “de villa Cales.” It is called the Lordship and Manor of Bottisforth, parcel of the late preceptory or commendatory of Willoughton, in the county of Lincoln, late a priory or hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem. The conveyance runs in the usual form, but it is worth mentioning that among other things conveyed were “viginti duos denarios vocatos Warnott rent.”^a What this word signifies has not, I believe, been as yet ascertained. Lands called Warenott lands existed in the townships of Northorpe, Spital, Morton and elsewhere in Lindsey, and under the form of Warnutts it is

^a *Patent Roll*, 37 Hen. VIII. m. 17.

said to occur in the East Riding of Yorkshire.^a The manor changed hands several times, almost immediately after it fell into the king's hands. In 1547 the lord was Thomas Yorke, Esq. This is the first year of the existing court-rolls. That earlier documents of the same character must have been compiled cannot admit of doubt. That they have been lost or destroyed seems almost certain. The Public Record office, and several other places where it was thought possible that they might have strayed, have been searched for them in vain. The jury of the 29th September, 1547, consists of but eleven persons, all but three of whom bear names which now or very recently have been familiar in the neighbourhood. The ordinary course of business, such as is familiar to students of documents of this kind, was followed; two women were fined for selling beer contrary to assize, and William Yates and Richard Haram were presented because their barns were in want of repair. These people it should be noted were almost certainly freehold tenants. It was ordered that no inhabitant of the manor should dig beates in the common moors or pastures, except by the consent of all the inhabitants of "Bottysford & Yadylthorpe," under a penalty of three shillings and four pence. Beat in our dialect means a bundle of flax or hemp,^b it appears here to signify what, before the commons were enclosed, used to be called bags, that is the upper portion of the peat, consisting of true peat intermixed with roots of grass.

At the court held on the . . . day of May in the same year the business was of a similar character, William Morley was fined for assaulting and wounding Grace Howden three shillings and four pence, and it was reported that one hen value ij^d had come as a stray into the manor. It was ordered that Thomas Robynson should not keep sheep or cattle within the common pasture under pain of xij^s iij^d.

The meaning of this entry is by no means obvious. Thomas Robynson must have been a tenant of the manor, or he would not have been in a position to incur a fine. If he were a tenant, unless his sheep and cattle were suffering from some noxious disease, it is not clear to me by what right or custom his stock could be excluded from the common pasture. The next entry induces me to believe that there was either murrain in the manor or great dread thereof, for it was ordered under a like penalty that no one should make ingress and egress with their animals into the common pasture. It was further ordered that the sewers and

^a Norden's *Survey of the Manor of Kirton in Lindsey*, MS. Pub. Lib. Camb. Ff. 4, 30, foll. 48b, 25 b, 49 b, 64 b, 66 b. *Valor Eccl.* iv. 133 i. 137 ii. *The Antiquary*, vol. xii. 207 ii.

^b Arthur Young, *Linc. Agriculture*, 1799, p. 159.

banks were to be well scoured "*bene escurata*" before the feast of Pentecost, and that all persons were to make sufficient pig-sties, and keep their pigs therein from sunset until eight o'clock in the morning, and that no one should turn his pigs into the sown field until the end of autumn; no one to put mares having foals in the sown field; no one to cut for purposes of sale "*trifodia vocato vppergraftes*" in the moor.

1548. The next court was held on the thirteenth of October, 1548, and Richard Stocks was presented because he permitted his geese to go in the sown field. Orders were made that every one within the manor should fill up "*le ffyrre holes*" before the feast of SS. Simon and Jude next following, and that all persons should well and sufficiently scour "*le watterlotte*" before the feast of All Saints. The "*ffyrre holes*" were the pits which were dug in the peat-moss for the purpose of procuring the buried fir timber and roots which were and are still to be found there. The timber, much of which was sound and strong, was used for gate-posts and the roofs of buildings, the roots for fuel. A waterlot is such portion of a drain as one person is bound by custom to keep in order. These waterlots were abolished here by the enclosure at the end of the last century, but many drains in the immediate neighbourhood are still cleansed in this most inconvenient manner.

1549, the third of May, it was presented that William Reder was a receiver of stolen goods, and that William Robinson had committed a petty theft, and that William Raunald had demised certain lands by indenture which were held of the lord by copy, therefore the lands are forfeited to the lord.

1550. At the court held on the seventeenth of April, 1550, Robert Cooke was fined three shillings and four pence because he had permitted his pigs to root up the common pasture, and two men smaller sums for fighting. It was ordered that no one should turn pigs into the common pasture unless they were sufficiently ringed, nor his sheep into another pasture called the Marsh unless they had a mark^a to distinguish them. The marsh here spoken of was not boggy land, but, on the contrary, the highest part of the common. It is the Anglo-Saxon *mearc*, a sign, boundary or limit, and signifies the strip of land, on the extreme

^a When the commons were unenclosed, it was necessary for every one who had a right of pasture to have a sheep-mark that could be easily distinguished from those of his neighbours. A letter written by archbishop Cranmer, probably in 1534, shews that these marks were sometimes used for other purposes. He says, "Touching my commission to take oaths of the king's subjects for his highness' succession, I am by your last letters well instructed, saving that I know not how I shall order them that cannot subscribe in writing: hitherto I have caused one of my secretaries to

south of the common, which separated the manor of Bottesford from Messingham. It was also enjoined that no one should keep geese in the sown field after the feast of the Ascension, or put nets or "le lepes"^a into the common sewer called the "insowlynge"^b in the day-time.

1551. 3rd April. Orders were made, that no one should glean ears of barley or peas in the autumn until such time as the crop was removed, nor cut grass in the meadow called the "maune medowe." The grass on this meadow was evidently held in common, and when made into hay must have been divided among the several tenants of the manor. If green grass for cattle-food were required during the summer, it had to be obtained from the "head lands" and "banks," or other lands held in severalty. It was further enjoined, that no one was to permit a foal to follow his plough in the sown field; and that all persons were to make good their "burcelles"^c and fences between themselves and the common field before the feast of the Ascension.

1552. 25 April. Among the orders this year occur, that no one shall permit his oxen (*boves*) to go untethered in the sown field: "Quod nullus le stopup le headlandes sed scinebant vicinos suos habere viam quod necesse fuerit." This entry is interesting from the curious mixture of languages which it presents; it is also important, because it shows that the freehold and copyhold rights of the tenants were of a limited character. The land in the manor of Bottesford was cultivated in very narrow strips; some of these, but by no means the whole of them, abutted on a highway. Those that did not could never be reached by their owners, except by going on their neighbours' head-lands.

1554. 25 October. Richard Cave was fined sixpence because he put hemp into the common sewer. Almost every landowner in this and the adjoining subscr[ib]e for such persons, and made them to write their shepe mark, or some other mark as they can scribble. Now I would know, whether I shall, instead of subscription, take their seals."—Cranmer, *Miscellaneous Writings* (Parker Soc.) 291.

^a A leap or lepe is a long wicker basket employed for catching eels; the word is still in use. At the sessions held at Northallerton, July 12, 1610, Charles Adamson, of Normanby, was presented "for fishing contynually with leape and ell nettes." *North Riding Quarter Sessions Records*, vol. i. p. 197, where there is a learned note on the word by the editor, Rev. J. C. Atkinson.

^b The outfall of a ditch or drain, sometimes the drain itself. See the author's *Manley and Corringham Glossary*, sub voce.

^c The meaning of this word is by no means clear. I have never met with it except here, in the court-rolls of the manor of Little Carlton in this county, wherein it occurs three or four times, e. g. in 1603, an order was made that "we do lay in payne that Thomas Overton shall make his bursell sufficient betwixt Edward Barker and himself, betwixt this and the feast of Saint Andrewe next ensuing in pcane of x^s."

manors had a "hemp dyke" of his own, in which to steep the hemp and flax which he grew, for the purpose of making sheets, sacks, and cordage. To steep hemp in the common sewer was no light offence; for it killed the fish, and made the water unfit for cattle to drink.

1562. 27 May. At this court the jury consisted of fourteen persons. A series of orders were made which, for the most part, only reproduce those already quoted; one is worth mentioning. It prohibits any of the inhabitants of the manor digging "le bassokes," for the purpose of taking them out of the manor. The offence was a grave one; so the fine was three shillings and four pence. A bassock was a thick peat-sod used for fuel. The word is now obsolete here; but I have conversed with persons to whom it was familiar.

1563. 12 April. The jury at this court consisted of eight persons only. John Seabank and eight others were fined four pence each for cutting and carrying away trees from the lord's wood. The tenants had, probably, the right of gathering sticks in the wood; and it may safely be presumed that they could take, under the supervision of the lord's forester, what they needed for houseboot, ploughboot, gateboot, and fenceboot. These nine persons, we should gather, had taken timber for some unlawful purpose, or felled the trees at an improper time of the year. Some portion of this wood was remaining until about a century ago. In title-deeds and surveys it is commonly called "Temple-wood." The site of the eastermost portion is still called "the wood-close." Further orders are made as to digging turves: none are to be dug beyond "le southe gate." No one is to go "cum auriga vocata a shod wayne or cart sub le hebbels."^a

At the court held on the 7th of October this yeare, Thomas Whyttyngnam of Eastbutterwyke was fined iij' iiij^d because "posuit canes super pecora in moris de Bottysford." It was also ordered, that every one who had sufficient fuel should prepare for himself three cart-loads before the feast of Saint Martin on pain of a fine of vi' viij^d.

1565. 26 June. An order was issued, under a penalty of ten shillings, that "le kuckstowle" should be made for this manor for "le scolders" before the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel.

1566. 2nd October. Richard Buggyns and John Blacken were fined iij' iiij^d each, for an assault on Richard Tyrwhit, from whom they drew blood. Thomas Yates was fined v shillings because he took in other persons' sheep. This was a grave offence, with which the manor courts had to deal severely. The taking "to gist," as it was called, "foreign" cattle, was a great wrong to all the per-

^a Probably a wooden bridge. See Atkinson, *Cleveland Gloss.* sub voce Hebble.

sons who had rights upon the common, as these "foreign" animals consumed the food which was the joint property of all the tenants of the manor. Richard Dawber was fined *iiij^d* because he did not shut up his pigs in their sty at night.

1567. 21 April. No farmer to keep more than three geese beside the gander after Sexagesima, on pain of a fine of *iiij^s iiij^d*. No labourer to keep more than two geese and a gander, fine *iiij^s iiij^d*. Richard ffreman and Henry Hill to remove the dung belonging to them which lies in the highway on pain of a like fine. Richard ffreman to remove his hedge at the south part of his house "ad le old Rootes" before the feast of Saint Martin, on pain of a like fine.

1568. 4 May. William Emonson fined *xij^d* because "*dedit illecita verba Johanni Whelewryht.*" Thomas Bingham find *iiij^s* because he made "inchase and outchase *infra dominicum istud.*"

1569. 25 January. Robert Chapman fined *xij^d* "*quia vxor eius dyd drye hempe in a fyer Chymney.*" Nearly every Lincolnshire manor the records of which I have been permitted to examine contains entries of this kind.* Hemp and its refuse, the bark, or husk, are very inflammable substances, and fires must often have originated from the careless practice of "breaking" and drying hemp in the large open chimneys.

John Healy was fined the large sum of *xl^s* because he kept two hundred sheep within the lordship, and was not an inhabitant thereof.

22 April. Richard Browne fined *xij^d* because "*hospitauit vagabundo.*"

4 October. Robert Williamson fined *xij^d* "*quia puplicauit consilium Juratorum.*"

1570. 24 September. A common way and a common hyrsell^b ordered to be made on the north and east sides of Bottesford wood for the convenience of the lord and his tenants.

1571. 7 October. Robert Rowbotham and John Cooke fined *ij^s iiij^d* and *viiij^d* respectively, because they permitted the servants of other persons to be in their houses contrary to the form of the statute. In the margin is written "*Ludebant apud cartas pictas.*" William Smythe fined *iiij^d* because "*custodiuit canem malum, vocatum Anglice a vnlawfull dogge.*" George Harryson, Agnes his wife, and Hamo his son fined *v^s* for being "*pety bryberes de anseris et aliis bonis.*" The meaning of this entry is not clear. The most probable interpretation seems to be, that these persons had committed a trespass with the geese, or broken a by-law concerning them, and that, when discovered, they had endeavoured to bribe some one, probably an official person, to keep the matter secret.

1572. 23 May. Robert Leake fined *x^s* because he keeps in his house an artificer, called a "cordwayner." John Farray fined *vj^d* because he had made a

* Cf. *Archaeologia*, vol. XLVI. p. 382.

^b Probably a foot-path.

dunghill in the highway, and ij^a because he had infected the water by putting skins into it.

At this court we have for the first time a series of orders made in English. I give them without abridgment :

Ordinatus est quod no cartes nor waynes of Messingham load turves vppon the highe mowre yate except they by them eyther of the towne of Bottisford or Yaddlethorpe vppon payne of euery cart or wayne offendynge contrary to this payne shall be in misericordiam iij^a iiij^d

Item that euery person that will carie ther swyne to the commons shall ryngge them vppon payne of euery swine vnrynged after Trenitie Sondag sub pena quilibet porcis defect in misericordia xij^d

Item that no man offend in gravinge of turves vppon or within the Bottes^a but that they shalbe in misericordia xl^a

Item that none grave turues not aboue ffortie thowsand in one yere vppon payne of euery default xx^a

And also that none shall signe^b any of ther turuegraftes afore they be graven but after they have graven them they may sell them.

Item that no cotiger that kepes a draught^c in somer and not aible to kepe the said drawight in wynter do cari any turues forth to any other townes in somer shalbe in misericordia xx^a

Provided all wayes that yf the towne of Yaddelthorpe bracke any of the paynes aforsaid that then the Inhabitauntes of Bottisford to be at libertie.

1573. 7 April. Richard Harrison fined iij^a ij^d "quia cepit stickes from hedges at divers tymes." Robert Williamson, "for plowinge away of dike daille meare, iij iiij^d. The dale here spoken of was one of many divisions of land so called in this and the adjoining manors; they were not vallies, but divisions of land in the open fields.^d Catherine Chapman, vj^d for not having a "swinstye," that is a pig-sty. Richard Henrison and William Aliston, alias ffoxe ij^a "quia cepit certayne horsse shosse oute of [the] shope of henry Page." It was ordered at this court that "noman shall fell no common braycons vnto suche tyme as the cargraves appoint a tyme, in payne of every default xij^d." Brackens were required for bedding for cattle, and, as there was not much land on the wastes of the manor where they grew, it was necessary to be careful of them.

1574. 17 June. The jurors say upon their oaths "that Oliver Bowton carried thre stray sheppe from Yaddlethorpe to Kyrton this laste yere." Also

^a Butts for archery.

^b Assign.

^c Draught of oxen.

^d Cf. the writer's *Manley and Corringham Glossary*, sub voce.

the said jury sayeth "that at mayday laste paste Richard Browen carryed thre stray gesse from Yaddlethorpe to Kyrton, [and] that Robert Atkynson caried thre stray horsses from Yadlethorppe to Kyrton." These entries are curious as shewing the confusion that was caused by small detached pieces of one manor lying within the confines of another. Nearly the whole of Yaddlethorpe is in the manor of Bottesford, but one small farm was a member of the royal manor of Kirton in Lindsey. Constant disputes between the rival authorities seem to have resulted from this unfortunate arrangement, which however is of immemorial antiquity, as certain lands in Yaddlethorpe are mentioned in *Domesday* as a part of the manor of Kirton.

At this court it was ordained "that euery person that gethers peason^a withoute the lycens of ye husbandman shall be amerced for every time xij^d."

18 October. It was ordered that every cottager should have four loads of turves called "eldynge"^b before the feast of Saint Andrew under the pain of vj^s viij^d. This entry is curious, but the object of the order and the heavy fine that was threatened is clear. If a cottager was not provided with materials for his winter fires he and his family would have perished with cold, unless they were relieved by or stole from their more provident neighbours. The authorities had no doubt discovered that some of the people after whom it was their duty to look never called to mind that winter would come again when the days were bright and the sun warm.

1576. 3 May. Widow Walker fined iij^s iiij^d for "breakinge hemp & lyne in her firehouse." Widow ffowler a similar fine for "brakinge de hemp et lynne in her oven."

Wheras the wyffe of Xpofer Crayne slaundered the wyffe of Richard Dawber for a roylle of lynne cloth, we say that Dawbers wyffe is a verie onest woman and withowte blame in that matter and we amerce Xpofer Crayne for the yll vsage of his said wyffe iij^s iiij^d

Item we lye in payne that euery woman that is a scould shall eyther be sett vpon the cuckstoll & and be thrise ducked in the water or else ther husbandes to be amercied vj^s viij^d as well the one partie as the others

^a Peas.

^b The word elding, though nearly obsolete, is still in use to indicate small sticks used for lighting fires. The proverbial saying when something quite worthless is spoken of, that "it is neither good for hedge-stake nor elding," will perhaps hinder it from falling into complete disuse. The word occurs in Scotland. Sir Walter Scott makes Willie of Westburnflat say, "Mony thanks to ye for collecting sae muckle winter eilding for us." *Black Dwarf*, chap. ix. Cf. *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, vol. xi. p. 454. Atkinson's *Cleveland Glossary*, sub voce.

1577. 29 April. Ordered that no one keep cattle or "bestes" in the pasture unless he lives within the lordship, penalty xx^s.

30 September. A woman named Hill fined xiiij^d because she had not sufficiently repaired her house "cum thacke and mortar."

1578. 28 March. Further orders were made at this court.

Item that euery man that hathe begune a pytte shall grave it vp in order in payne of vj^s viij^d

This relates to digging turves. The upper peat was the best for fuel, because it was less clogged with water, and therefore sooner became dry. It was no uncommon custom for selfish persons to engross several turf pits, only taking the upper "draws" from each.

Item that no manner of person nor persons shall grave neare any cawsye by xxⁱⁱ fott of eyther syde in payne of vj^s viij^d

The object of this order was to preserve the "causies" from being disturbed by the peat on which they were made settling into the holes made by the turf diggers. There was also another good reason. These "causies" did not run straight like a modern road, but twisted about so as always to be on the highest land. The holes where turves had been dug were full of water in winter, and would have been highly dangerous for travellers by night, had they been close upon what was in fact, though perhaps not in law, a highway.

Item that euery man have a sufficient swyne cotte before mayday next in payne of iij^s iiij^d

Item that euery man shall mak his hedges sufficient betwixt this and mayday next in payne of xij^d

Item that none shall gleane in herueste but fower landes of from any stowckes^a in payne of xij^d

Item that none shall kepe any diseased horses or mares goinge of the common pastures in payne of vj^s viij^d

Item that none shall grave any sodes or turves nor bassockes^b of the Sowthe Easte syde the grene gaitte and abuttinge of the Southe West of grene howe^c in pena vj^s viij^d

^a A stook or stowk is ten sheaves of corn set with their heads together in a slanting position, for the purpose of drying, preparatory to their being stacked. The word is still in common use.

^b A thick grassy sod.

^c Greenhoe is a sandhill near the middle of the moors. A farmhouse is now built thereon, which is commonly known as Yaddlethorpe Grange.

16 October.

It is laid in payne that Robert Waplay, vxor Walker, Peter Smythe, Xpofer Craven, John ffarra, & Stephayne Tupman shall euery of them repaire their houses before candlemas next in payne of euery one found faltie to forfeit to the Lord iiij^s

It is almost, if not quite, certain that most of these persons were freehold tenants, not copyholders.

1579. 1 April.

It is layd in payne yt no cottager in the towne nor in ye thorpe^a shal kepe no catel vpon the lordes commones after ye lords officer haue gyne him warning but euery [one] so doing to forfet vj^s viij^d

*	*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*	*

Item that no cotiger kepe at any tyme within this Lordshippe above tenne sheppe vpon payne of vj^s viij^d

Item that everie husbandman within this Lordshippe to sett euery year vj willowes & euery cotiger iij and to preserue them from cattell, in doinge the contrary euery husbandman to forfayte xij^d and every cotiger vj^d

1580. 8 April. Several persons were fined small sums for appropriating "bottelles" of furze.

Imprimis we lye it in payne y^t no man lode anye countrie wayne after sonne set, or afore sonne rysse in ye morninge, in euery on so taken ij^s vj^d

A "country wayne," probably, means a waggon belonging to someone who was not a tenant of the manor.

Item we lye in payne y^t vidua Rowbotham repaire y^e Nether howse before Lammas day next comeing in payne of xx^s

1581. 5 October. John Bramley fined xx^d for not sufficiently making and repairing his hedges and "burcelles." Nicholas Nedam fined vj^s viij^d because he "graved vpp the cawsie."

1585. 18 May. Anthony Cartwright fined xij^d "quia non pitt le carion ad nocumentum vicinorum."

6 October. Orders were made—

That euery man scower his watercourses or dreans before St. Lukes day next in payne of euerye defalt iij^s iiij^d

^a i. e. Yaddlethorpe.

Item that euerye chimney be sufficiently made and repayred before St Andrewes day
sub pena iij^s iiij^d

Item that William Balderston make a sufficient covering for his well before Saturday
next sub poena iij^s iiij^d

Item that no man kepe any vndertenant in Bottesford and Yaddethorpe that be nowe
dwelling there after Candlemas next in payne of euery defalt xx^s

1586. 12 April. Several persons were fined twenty shillings each for keeping
undertenants in newly-built houses. It was ordered that—

euerye man make his lotte in the lane after the woode syde before thursday next sub
pena xij^d

That is, everyone was to do his share in the repair of this road; which, from a
former entry already quoted, seems to have been a new one.

Item that Hawkliffe dike be made before thursday next sub pena xij^d

Item yt is ordeyned that Thomas dawber shall make sufficient againe the out shotto which
he hathe taken downe before the next court sub pena xx^s

1587. 9 October. James Stephen was fined xij^d for taking fish “in le becke,”
without the lord’s licence.

1589. 6 October. Robert Kirke fined vj^s viij^d “for wayning over the Beck
banke contra ordinationem to the great decay of the water walls.”

1590. 5th October, James Burkill fined x^s for keeping three scabbed horses
on the common. Richard Manewell fined xij^d because his wife and boy carried
away “le elding” belonging to other people. William Burley was fined iij^s iiij^d
“quia non habuit le elding pro hieme.” This entry is remarkably interesting, as
showing that the authorities exerted themselves for the good of the various house-
holds when the head thereof was idle or careless.

1591. 10 May. Margaret Bowyer, widow, lady of the manor. William
Elvylsh fined iij^s iiij^d for “dogging beast” in the common pasture.

8 October. Marmaduke Tirwhitt, lord of the manor. Walter Emerson fined
iij^s iiij^d because he had dug three turf pits at the same time. Robert Whaplott
was fined viij^d “quia non posuit porcos ad le swineherde.”

1594. 26 April.

It is laide in payne by the Jurie aforesaid that euery housholder within this lordship shall
yearlie provide sufficient elding and fewell for wynter in payne of every one making
defalt iij^s iiij^d

1595. 17 October. Thomas Vrrie and William Shaw, lords of the manor.

1601. 12 April. Thomas Vrrie gentleman, one of the lords of the manor,
fined xij^d for not cleaning out a drain, “vnum le drean,” on the east side of the
orchard. This ditch can still be identified, as the orchard yet exists. It is curious

to find one of the lords of the manor fined by his court, as it has been generally assumed that the manor courts had no such power. There is evidence that in at least one other Lincolnshire manor the lord was threatened with a fine. In the court roll of Little Carlton of 1603, of which Charles Cooke was lord, occurs the following passage: "Item we do lay in payne that M^r Cooke shall apoynte vs a place to sett our common fould on with sufficient wood for to make yt betwixt this and martynmas next in payne of v^l." In this case we feel fully assured that legal proof could be given that the M^r Cooke threatened with this heavy fine was identical with Charles Cooke the lord.

1602. October 15. Thomas Vrry and John Shawe, lords of the manor.

1603. 14 October. George Roger was fined xij^d "for keping a decayed chimney and laying thinges near the same." Cuthbert graunger xij^d "for digging fur stockes vnder Wymehowe hill."

It is layd in paine that none shall sell anie bassacks except to there owne neighbors and not out of the towne in payne of euery defalt for euery burthen vj^s. viij^d

1606. 13 October. It was ordered—

that none shall take eny stubble of their land after harvest be don in payne of euery defalt iij^s iiij^d

There can be no doubt that this order was made to hinder the manorial tenants from impoverishing the land. It seems to point to a time when the soil was not held in severalty but redivided annually.

1607. 13 April. A fine of vj^s viij^d threatened for all who stock "the comon pasture" not having a right to do so. A fine of xij^d for all who "pull their neighbors shepe;" that is, those who catch the sheep and pull locks of wool from their fleeces. This is an offence by no means obsolete at the present day. The wool that was dragged off the sheep by bushes, or came off naturally, was in most manors the perquisite of the women of the manor.

1508. Under this year it may be well to note that the Kirton in Lindsey manor roll furnishes an instance of the inconvenience which arose from a portion of Yaddlethorpe not being in the manor of Bottesford. It appears that William Ellis took a sheep with its lamb which was astray from the common pinder and fled with it into the manor of Bottesford.

1616. 15 April. An order that in case any cattle should die of "fellen or morren," a fire is to be made by the owner of brushwood, furze, and peats, and the body burned therein, the bones not consumed to be buried.

1617. 13 October. An order made that cattle which died of the "fellow or morren" should be buried, and the place where the said cattle had died burnt.

XXII.—*On excavations in an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Sleaford, in Lincolnshire.*

By GEORGE WILLIAM THOMAS, Esq.

Read March 30, 1882.

IN the latter part of November in the past year I heard that in the course of operations consequent upon the widening of a portion of the Grantham, Sleaford, and Boston Railway, there had been several discoveries of human remains, accompanied by beads, fibulae, pottery, and spears. I was therefore led to ask permission to make a systematic exploration of the locality. Through the kind favour of the Marquis of Bristol, the owner of the property, of his kinsman and representative, R. H. Hervey, Esq., and by the courtesy of the tenant, J. H. Marston, Esq., I was enabled to carry out what I believe to be an exhaustive examination.

Before entering into the details of the excavations, I propose making a few remarks upon the locality in which these remains were discovered.

The place in question is a grass field about one hundred yards to the south of the town of Sleaford, which was included in the Saxon kingdom of Mercia. This town is of considerable antiquity, and was doubtless from a very early period a place of some importance.

The following account is given in *Domesday* :—

In *Eslaforde*. habet Bardi .xi. carucatas terrae ad geldum Terra ad xi. carucatas. Ibi habet episcopus in dominio .iii. carucatas et xxix. villanos et vi. sochemannos et xi. bordarios habentes .xiii. carucatas. Ibi presbiter et ecclesia et viii. molini de x. libris et ccc. et xx acras prati et i. acra silvae minutae Marescum ccc. et xxx acrarum. Tempore Regis Edwardi valebat xx. libras, modo xxv. libras.

British remains have not infrequently been found in the immediate neighbourhood, a fine camp being still discernible at South Kyme, only a few miles distant.

Sleaford is situate upon the small stream or river Sleas, which discharges itself into the Witham, and would thus afford a direct means of communication with the sea. The town lies about twelve miles from Grantham, and about eighteen from Boston. It adjoined a branch of the northern Roman road, Ermine street, and was within easy distance of the immense navigable canal of the same people, the Car Dyke. The road crossed a ford of the stream a few hundred yards to the east of the now existing town, and led in a direct line from Durobrivæ, or Castor, to Lincoln. Certain localities in the neighbourhood of this street or road shew unmistakeable evidences of a lengthened Roman occupation, in the frequent occurrence of coins and pottery. The settlement would seem to have been afterwards colonised by a tribe of the Saxons, or Angles, and, from the abundance of the remains now discovered, the occupation was evidently an extensive one. The configuration of the face of the country having been so much changed by cultivation, it is impossible to fix with certainty the absolute boundary of the Saxon cemetery; a high road, a railway, and farm-buildings, more or less intersect the lines of burial. Judging, however, from the space which I have examined, I believe the cemetery to have been rectangular, based upon a due east and west line, and of an area of about 3,600 square yards, the southern base being at the least 60 yards, and the probable form an oblong. The space is intersected diagonally by the line of the Great Northern railway, which, from its width at this point, has unfortunately caused the destruction of more than two-thirds of the original cemetery; for I find on inquiry that not only upon the recent widening of the line, but also, many years ago, upon the original making of the same, bodies and relics were found in great profusion in the position which would be included in the space I have suggested. My operations were therefore confined to the southern portion of the cemetery in the angle formed by the railway and the high road. The small corner on the opposite side of the line was used many years ago for the purpose of digging gravel, and was found to contain similar remains, as was also the site of the farm-buildings on the other side of the high road.

Although some of these relics have fortunately fallen into the hands of persons through whom they are made known to the antiquarian world, in the very able and interesting history of Sleaford, written by a Fellow of this Society, the Right Reverend Edward Trollope, bishop of Nottingham, yet there has been no systematic exploration of the ground, and consequently no record of the details of the interments. The great majority of the relics discovered on these previous occasions seem to have utterly disappeared, and some of them may have been again entombed in the course of railway operations.

There is but little elevation in the ground occupied by the cemetery, perhaps a rise of about two feet at the highest point, and, the country being slightly undulating in its outline, there was absolutely nothing in external appearance to mark it as a burial-place. I estimate the number of interments in the entire cemetery to have been at the least six hundred, as the burials in the portion that I have examined were arranged in rows coinciding with the external southern line of the cemetery, and were at a tolerably uniform distance of about ten feet from each other for about three-fourths of the space explored. Beyond this portion the interments were very irregular, in some instances many square yards being utterly unproductive. In these barren spots I found the soil to be generally composed of gravel, which would thus appear to have been avoided for the purposes of burial, there being no evidence whatever of any interment therein; as, even should the bones have perished from the more rapid percolation, yet the fibulae, pottery, and beads, would have remained. My impression is that in this part of the ground there was originally a series of tumuli, within which the interments were made, and that such tumuli have been ploughed down.

Without there being an absolutely fixed rule, there was a marked difference in the character of the burials, indeed sufficiently so to be noticed by my labourers. The bronze fibulae, beads, and pottery were chiefly found in burials at the western extremity, and the iron spears and shield bosses at the eastern end, while the extreme south-west corner, although perhaps more closely filled with bodies than the average of the remainder, was singularly barren of relics.

One great peculiarity of the whole is the fact that, contrary to the usual custom, with but about a dozen exceptions (the majority of those being children), the bodies were in a doubled-up position, the knees bent and the hands before the faces, exactly as in earlier interments. The bodies were laid on the left side with the heads to the west, thus facing the north, except in one instance, where the head lay to the east, and on the right side; but with this body there were no relics.

The original depth of the interments was probably about two feet nine inches, and I have, therefore, in the subjoined detailed account, made no reference to the depth, unless in the two or three cases where the average was exceeded. The surface of the ground was slightly undulating, having been ploughed into ridge and furrows, so that the depth varied.

The subsoil is a well-defined stratum of white silt, upon or slightly within which the bodies lay, and thus affords, not only a good index to the original depth of the interment, but also, from its unmixed purity, a sure indication that there was no lower burial. The upper soil is a very porous sandy loam, which but ill

preserves the bones and pottery, both of which were in a very decayed condition. Sparsely scattered throughout this soil were fragments of pottery, not of a sepulchral character, as well as charcoal, and animal bones, and these occurred without reference to the graves. I can vouch for the position and number of all the relics to each interment, my plan having been never to allow any excavation beyond a foot in depth without my presence, and no bone or relic of any description to be removed from its site except by my own hands. I am thus enabled to furnish what I believe to be a close and accurate account of the ground that I have examined.

I would call particular attention to the fact that not a single sword was found in the entire cemetery, and that they have not disappeared from decay, is proved by the discovery of much smaller iron articles, such as knives and buckles, in fair condition, and also by the absence of any sword ornaments in other materials. I think it well to call attention to the remarkable symbol that occurs on the fibula from interment No. 143 (Pl. XXIV. fig. 2), being the swastika or fylfot, so well known as an Aryan symbol, and which not only occurs on some of the antiquities discovered by Dr. Schliemann at Troy, and Mycenae, but is also still used as a symbol by the Buddhists. The forms of the fibulae in Nos. 95 and 182 are also modifications of this sign.

In interments Nos. 121 and 155 the silver and bronze wire articles which formed ornaments for the wrists remind one somewhat of a gold ornament from the lake-dwellings at Möringen (Keller, trans. Lee, Pl. LVII. 9), a type not common in Saxon cemeteries.

That the settlement was an early one may, I think, be fairly assumed from the fact that cremation was still existing in its absolute and not merely symbolical form, as in six cases (Nos. 10, 38, 70, 139, 172, 183) the calcined bones were deposited in urns in the ordinary manner; and in other cases the presence of charcoal bespoke the existence of the rite in a modified form.

I would also specially advert to the annular objects of ivory accompanying the articles which have been variously called girdle-hangers and chatelaines (Plate XXIV. fig. 4). In five of the eight cases in which I have found these girdle-hangers

* Two ivory rings were found by Mr. Akerman in graves of women in the cemetery at Bright-hampton, Oxon. and seem to have been 5 inches in diameter. See *Archaeologia*, XXXVIII. pp. 86, 89. They do not appear to have been accompanied by girdle-hangers, but in one were a number of silver coins, and the silver mounting of a purse. Mr. Akerman suggests that these ivory rings "appear to have formed the framework of a kind of bag, probably for holding sewing materials and implements of housewifery." *Ibid.* p. 92. See also Wylie, *Fairford Graves*, p. 15.

I have found the annular object with them in the form of an incomplete circle, with an opening of two or three inches, which was lying towards the hinges of the chatelaine. I am informed that these have rarely been noticed, indeed I am not aware of any having been reported or made known to archaeologists. May they not have formed the framework upon which a pouch or satchel of skin or woven fabric was stretched, the impression of which latter is distinctly retained upon one? The majority of the hangers have small perforations at the angles, and, being ornamented on one side only, they would seem to have been attached to some material in the manner suggested. The frames without doubt formed some portion of the chatelaine, as they all lay in precisely the same position with regard to the bronze hangers, and were never present without them.

The clasps of the various bracelets were uniformly surrounded by, and imbedded in, a black substance, evidently leather, which probably formed the bracelets, but it was in too decomposed a condition to enable me to ascertain whether it was ornamented in any manner, or plain. I have noticed in several instances the presence of very fragile seed capsules of about the size of a bean, and with a smooth surface, intermixed with the necklets, as though they might have been strung among the beads, but they were all so very thin that they perished immediately upon exposure. That they formed part of the necklets may, I think, be assumed, because I found them occupying the spaces between the beads, which, without them, would have been at irregular distances from each other. With regard to the necklets themselves I can confidently assert that they were not used in the sense which is understood by the word necklet, but that they were simply festoons of beads, in many instances double ones, extending from the one shoulder to the other, supported at either end by a fibula or pin. This, I believe, has been found to be the case in some of the continental cemeteries: see for instance the graves of Livonia (Bähr, *Gräber der Liven*, Pl. 9), where chains are used in the same manner. The position of the skeletons laid on their sides enabled me to ascertain that all the beads were *in situ* in front of the body, and none of them either under or behind the vertebrae, which must necessarily have been the case if they had encircled the neck.

I have found no coins other than Roman ones (chiefly those of Constantine and Maxentius), and only in one instance have they been deposited as coin *per se*, being generally perforated and used as pendants to the necklets. The one exception is that of No. 85, where six coins neatly piled in two heaps lay among and on the bones of the hand of the skeleton of a child. I would again call attention to the fact that in several instances I have found charcoal and carbonaceous earth

freely intermixed with the soil in immediate contact with the body, which would imply the existence of some sort of sacrificial rites, and in two cases animal bones had been deposited with the body at the time of interment. In one instance the head of a child lay upon the jaw of a pig, and in the other three of the cervical vertebrae of a pig, with their processes *in situ*, and evidently placed there when covered with flesh, lay immediately behind the head of an adult.

The brooches or fibulae generally were of the usual type of the more northern districts, but in one instance (No. 194) the form was a purely southern one, being the saucer-shaped disc usual in Gloucestershire, Berkshire, and Oxfordshire, and those of graves 71, 117, and 233 are of a very uncommon form.

The pelvis bones were unfortunately in such an imperfect condition that the sexes were not easy to distinguish, and I have therefore in the analysis of sexes given below* mentioned the numbers as implied by the character of the relics accompanying the bodies, those accompanied by spears and shield-bosses being evidently males, and those by beads and fibulae being presumably females, while of the rest having urns, knives, &c. I have returned the sex as uncertain. Such of the femora and tibiae as were sufficiently sound and perfect, I have compared with my own, and pronounce the average height to have been 5 feet 6 inches. In only two or three instances have I found bones larger than my own, and the females were decidedly of a slight build, and of a size rather below the average. The crania which I have been able to preserve are mainly of a marked dolichocephalic tendency, that is to say, much more nearly approach the dolichocephalic than the brachycephalic type. The superciliary ridges are strongly developed; the frontal region in the main is oblique. The *normae* show in the *norma lateralis* a low forehead and flat crown, and in the *norma verticalis* a long skull, narrow laterally, with very square frontal region. There is no tendency whatever towards prognathism. Several of the skulls showed signs of wounds, which, though of a very severe character, had been received some years before death. I have called attention to such points as seemed to me worthy of particular note, and shall now let the detailed account of each interment which follows speak as to the general character of the important cemetery which I have had the good fortune to explore.

* Males 51; Females 86; Children 18; Uncertain 92.

Detailed account of the interments.

[The pins of all the fibulae have been, or are, of iron unless otherwise stated.]

1. Adult. Long spade-shaped fibula* of bronze on left shoulder; small necklet of fifty-five beads, chiefly amber, with a few of glass; turquoise and white opaque glass bead from earring; iron knife near femur.

2. Adult. Two long spade-shaped fibulae at shoulders; necklet of thirty-seven beads, chiefly amber, of elongated form, with a few of glass; pendant formed of two circular discs, of bronze gilt, with impressed circles round the edges; iron knife near femur. Body inclosed in rude cist of unshaped stones.

3. Adult. Bronze annular fibula at shoulder; bronze ring (diameter, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch), with iron ring overlapping it at hips; small bronze pin at chest; and iron knife near femur.

4. Adult. Bronze twisted wire earring; small necklet of nine beads, one large amber, the rest glass; with one large blue glass bead with white zigzag, accompanied by fragments of bronze wire sockets, &c., forming pendant of indefinite form; pair of bronze clasps at wrist. Rude stone cist.

5. Adult. No relics or ornaments. Rude stone cist.

6. Adult. Iron knife near femur.

7. Adult. 5 feet 9 inches deep. Urn close to face; iron ring at hip, and knife near femur.

8. Adult. Large urn close to back of head. Rude stone cist.

9. Urn in fragments; soil black and carbonaceous. No skeleton.

10. Urn, with about a quart of calcined bones; upper portion gone; no sign of skeleton, or of local burning.

11. Stone cist; but no trace of bones, beyond a few fragments of skull. No relics or ornaments.

12. Fragments of bones, but no trace of relics.

13. Adult. Large cruciform fibula and fragment of another, both upturned, the interment having been evidently disturbed.

* This spade-shaped fibula is similar to one found near Rugby, engraved in Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom*, Pl. xviii. fig. 7; but has four small holes in the square part.

14. Adult. Bronze annular fibula with iron acus preserved, and two small bronze Roman coins, much worn, perforated as pendants.

15. Adult. Flat annular bronze fibula, with pattern of impressed horseshoes; small necklet of seven glass beads, one of them double.

16. Two adults, much intermixed. Flat annular bronze fibula, ornamented with two rows of impressed rings, and portions of bronze clasps. Pair of bronze tweezers; boss of shield; large spear; and small urn near back of head.

17. Adult. Flat annular bronze fibula, and portion of a bronze pin with eye near chest; small necklet of seven glass and amber beads.

18. Adult. Flat annular bronze fibula, ornamented with transverse cross lines and circles with central dots; iron buckle at waist, with bronze plate.

19. Adults. Two annular bronze fibulae like split-rings at shoulders, and small penannular fibula of bronze tinned, with bronze acus, moveable round the circumference, at throat.

20. Adult; bones much decayed. Fragments of urn near head, and iron knife near hips. Stone cist.

21. Adult. Head of spear near back of skull; large iron buckle, with bronze plate, near hips.

22. Adult. Small iron buckle and knife near hips.

23. Fragments of skull, and other bones. No relics.

24. Adult. Iron conical point, perhaps of dart or ferule of spear or staff, near face, and large iron ring ($2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter) at hips.

25. Fragments of skull and other bones of adult. No relics.

26. Adult. Three beads, two of glass and one of amber, and small earring of twisted silver wire.

27. Adult. Iron spear-head in front of face.

28. Adult. Iron spear-head near hips and hand, one arm being extended by side.

29. Adult. Necklet of sixteen opaque glass beads of different colours. Rude stone cist.

30. Adult. Large spear-head and boss of shield, close to face.

31. Adult. Two flat annular bronze fibulae, ornamented with two rows of punched S-shaped marks.

32. Adult. Two long bronze fibulae at shoulders, one spade-shaped and the other cruciform. Rude stone cist.

33. Adult; much intermixed with those of last interment.

34. Adult. Spear at back of head, and knife near hips.

35. Adult. Necklet of five opaque glass beads.
36. Adult. Iron spear-head in front of face, and knife near femur.
37. Adult. Iron spear-head and shield boss at back of head, knife near femur.
38. Urn filled with, and standing in, ashes, and fragments of bronze burnt; the whole enclosed in a rude cist. An iron tag on the top, with large socket of iron, plated with bronze, about a foot to south of cist.
39. Adult, much decomposed. Fragments of bronze plates riveted on wood and leather near hips.
40. Adult. Iron spear-head and knife near back of head.
41. Adult. Necklet of fourteen beads, amber and glass, the latter variegated; knife near hips.
42. Adult. Two flat annular fibulae at shoulders, one ornamented with double line of impressed crescents, the other with transverse lines and S-shaped marks; necklet of seventeen amber and glass beads, with fragment of silver disc as pendant.
43. Adult. Two bronze fibulae; one annular, with transverse lines, and the other flat annular, with transverse divergent lines; a much worn Roman bronze coin as pendant near throat.
44. Adult. Knife near hips.
45. Bones much decayed. No trace of implement or ornament.
46. Similar to the last.
47. Also similar to the last.
48. Bones of young person, in extended position, arms crossed on breast. Small bracelet of seven glass beads; bronze clasp on right wrist.
49. Adult. Large cruciform fibula, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, two iron buckles, and knife near hips; small necklet of twelve glass beads. Very large cist.
50. Adult. Very large cruciform fibula of bronze gilt on left shoulder, $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches long (Plate XXIII. fig. 1); small spade-shaped fibula on right shoulder; necklet of forty-seven large and eighty-three small amber, crystal, and glass beads, with animal's tooth as central pendant (Plate XXIII. fig. 5); ring $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, apparently made of the crown of a deer's horn, on chest, with fragment of iron, probably a key; remains of bronze armilla, embedded in leather on each arm; small bronze ring clasp, and bronze wire, portion of pendant; fragment of silver finger-ring and stone; two bracelets of amber and glass, nine beads each, with bronze clasps, and bronze tag (Plate XXV. fig. 5). Very large cist or cairn of unhewn stone.
51. Adult. Coin as pendant to necklet; pair of clasps on right wrist, and iron knife at hips.

52. Bones, much decomposed ; no relics.
53. Same as the last.
54. Adult, with two flat annular fibulae, much broken, at shoulders.
55. Adult. Two long fibulae, one cruciform, the other spade-shaped ; small necklet of ten glass and one amber beads, and bone spindle-whorl, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter.
56. Traces of bone, but no relics.
57. Intermixed with the last.
58. Adult. Urn close to face ; fragments of flat annular fibula and of iron.
59. Adult. Two spear-heads lying side by side, one pointing upwards, the other downwards, close to face of body.
60. Adult. Urn about 1 foot from hips ; rude cist surrounding same.
61. Bones in fragmentary condition, and portions of large urn.
62. Bones much decayed. No relics.
63. Small urn, with contracted mouth (Plate XXV. fig. 10). No body or relics.
64. Adult. Boss of shield reversed under head, and spear-head 6 inches from face.
65. Adult, with two small long fibulae, one cruciform the other spade-shaped ; necklet of twenty-two amber and glass beads ; bracelet of nine beads, amber and glass, and single flat glass bead, opaque white with blue spiral line, from an earring.
66. Child about seven years of age. Two long fibulae at shoulders, one cruciform, the other spade-shaped ; and one flat annular fibula, ornamented with two rows of incised circles ; bead from earring of opaque yellow glass ; necklet of thirteen amber and glass beads, and two simple wire bracelets with running slip-knot.
67. Child about three years of age. Traces of small bronze buttons or fibulae at shoulders staining the clavicles. Portion of the skull of adult touching same, but no trace of any other portion. Urn near natural situation of hips.
68. Adult of which the skull shows a large wound extending from coronal suture to brow, penetrating skull in two or three places ; edges of bones smooth and round, and evidently healed in lifetime. No relics.
69. Adult. Iron spear-head at the back of head, and knife at hips.
70. Adult, embedded in rich black earth, with fragments of charcoal and burnt bones extending the whole length of the body. No ornaments or implements, but pieces of bronze plates, about 2 inches long and 1 inch wide, at one end, by $\frac{3}{4}$ inch at the other, rivetted upon wood about a quarter of an inch thick,

lying in confused heap about 3 or 4 inches from crown of head ; perhaps portions of a bucket.

71. Adult. Square bronze buckle, ornamented with line of incised dots ; small necklet of eight glass beads.

72. Adult. Small bronze buckle and tag near hips, with iron knife. Stone cist.

73. Adult. Flat annular fibula upon sternum ; necklet or pendant thereto of five glass and amber beads.

74. Child. Fragments of small urn about 8 inches from head. No other relics.

75. Adult. Rude, simple bowl-shaped urn close to crown of head.

76. Adult. Knife near hips ; no other relics. Rude stone cist.

77. Adult. Boss of shield close to face, and the upper portion of a pair of tweezers, with portion of ring for suspending them near hips.

78. Adult. Large bronze ring, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, at hips, and girdle-hanger with portion of ivory ring or frame ; part of bronze circular pendant in front of chest.

79. Adult. Large cruciform fibula, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and small annular ditto, which has had a bronze acus and small necklet or pendant of five amber and glass beads.

80. Adult. Large cruciform fibula, $5\frac{3}{8}$ inches long ; flat annular fibula, ornamented with a double row of small impressed circles joined into an S form ; small necklet of nineteen amber and glass beads, and pair of bronze bracelet clasps.

81. Adult. Small necklet of six glass beads ; three Roman coins, pierced as pendants ; and a pair of bronze clasps of bracelet.

82. Adult. Small urn with incised pattern near face, and knife at hips.

83. Adult.

83A. Interment beneath the last. No relics ; bones much decomposed.

84. Adult. Knife near femur. Head of another person at feet, but no trace of further bones.

85. Young person about ten or twelve years of age in extended position, hands crossed on chest. Small bracelet of eight amber and glass beads, and seven coins piled in two heaps in left hand, near right elbow.

86. Large cist or cairn beneath 85 containing interment at 5 feet 6 inches deep of adult. Large cruciform fibula $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long in front of chest, two flat annular fibulae with egg-and-tongue pattern ; pair of bronze clasps ; necklet of one hundred and twelve amber, crystal, and glass beads with fragments of small bronze pendant chased and gilt ; girdle-hanger at hips with ivory framework,

within which lay several small bronze tags riveted together upon leather, and iron knife; portion of iron buckle and bronze tag at waist.

87. Portion of skull and humerus of child. No other remains.

88. Adult. Head to east; tibiae and fibulae in almost upright position, arms in front of face, whole position of body showing carelessness of burial. No relics. Stone cist.

89. Bones of skeleton much decayed. No relics.

90. Young person, twelve or fourteen years of age, in extended position. Fragments of bronze clasp at wrist, and small necklet of six glass beads.

91. Bones much decayed. No relics. Stone cist.

92. Adult. Knife near femur. Stone cist.

93. Adult. Skull broken and much compressed; other bones decayed. No relics. Stone cist.

94. Adult. Spearhead about 10 inches from back of head.

95. Adult. Two large flat circular fibulae with pierced centres, forming a swastika pattern, and ornamented with double lines of impressed semi-circles; large bronze pin,* 6 inches long, in front of chest, with head richly chased and gilded (Plate XXIV. fig. 1.); two circular discs of silver, with central bosses and incised ornaments on breasts (Plate XXIII. figs. 6 and 7); two pairs of bronze clasps on wrists; necklet of one hundred and twenty-five amber and glass beads; two bronze rings and knife at hips; and portion of bronze fittings with wood between the plates. Large stone cist.

96. Adult. Two large flat annular fibulae ornamented with *repoussé* dots; small silver disc with central boss; necklet of six beads, five large amber and one green glass bugle; a bead from earring of blue glass with white spiral line. Stone cist.

97. Adult. Two long spade-shaped fibulae; two pairs of clasps on wrists; these are of a somewhat unusual kind, having each a hollow tube fixed to them; small fragment of bronze tag, and an iron buckle.

98. Adult. No relics. Head and shoulders previously disturbed. Stone cist.

99. Adult. Iron spear-head 6 inches from face; a portion of bronze fitting 8 inches behind head; knife near hips. Stone cist.

100. Adult with urn and shield-boss close to back of head; iron spear-head 8 inches from face; knife near hips. Stone cist.

* One of the same pattern from Islip, Oxfordshire, is engraved in *Proceedings*, 2d S. ix. 90.

† A rich pin of the same general form, but jewelled, from Wingham, Kent, is engraved in Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom*, Pl. XL. fig. 3.

101. Young person. Bones much decayed. No relics.
102. Very large stone cist or cairn. Fragments of tibia of adult. No trace of other bones or relics.
103. Very large cairn at a depth of 5 feet 6 inches. Adult. Large bronze bowl, 1 foot in diameter and 5 inches high, with two small loops for suspension in the form of heads of swans or serpents. The bowl was in an upright position closely imbedded in clay and stones about 8 inches from back of head. There were indications of two other loops, but I was unable to find them. Framework of large bucket (Plate XXV. fig. 1) 16 inches in diameter and 1 foot high, having upper hoops of bronze $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide, bound at both edges with iron, and three other hoops of iron; the handles, consisting of two large iron rings about 3 inches in diameter, attached to two iron scrolls; two other scrolls equidistant gave the circumference between the two upper hoops the appearance of an almost continuous serpentine ornamentation. The woodwork perished on exposure, but portions still adhere to the inner margin of the bronze hoop. There were originally four iron stays extending from the top to the bottom hoop. This was embedded in clay, and lay at 1 foot distant from the feet of skeleton. At the hips was a pair of bronze tweezers.
104. Adult. Spear-head and knife at hips.
105. Bones much decomposed, close to and almost intermixed with No. 103. No relics.
106. Child; only portion of skull, humerus, and femur remaining. No relics.
107. Large adult. Knife at hips, lower jaw and portion of skull of child at feet. Stone cist.
108. Adult much decayed. Fragments and stains of iron in considerable quantities. Remains of urn near head; charcoal in lumps throughout the grave. Stone cist.
109. Child about ten years of age in extended position. No relics.
110. Child; position undeterminable, skull resting on scapula of pig.
111. Adult. Fragments of bowl-shaped urn at feet; no other relics. Large cist and cairn.
112. Adult in extended position; body inclined upwards, head within 1 foot of surface, and 2 feet higher than feet. No relics.
113. Adult. No relics. Small cairn.
114. Adult. Knife at hips.
115. Similar to last.
116. Adult. Large cruciform fibula, richly chased and gilt, with remains of

plates of silver riveted to ends, deposited in front of chest, Two flat annular fibulae at shoulders, in fragments, ornamented with two lines of incised circles divided into segments by groups of transverse lines; small circular disc with raised centre on breast; one and a half pairs of richly-chased and gilt massive clasps for bracelets on wrists (Plate XXIII. fig. 5); iron ring and knife at hips.

A post hole driven through part of this interment had doubtless caused the loss of the part of one clasp; as, notwithstanding a most careful search, no remains of it were found, and its massive character would preclude the supposition of decay.

117. Adult, close to 116. Upon shoulders, two fine S-shaped fibulae, ornamented with border of incised semicircles (Plate XXIII. fig. 9). Rude stone cist.

118. Adult. Knife at hips.

119. Adult. Large spear-head at hips, of unusual shape; blade leaf-shaped, and 11 inches long by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide; socket 6 inches long; point of junction of socket and blade disproportionately light (Plate XXV. fig. 7).

120. Adult. Knife and iron key, under hands.

121. Adult. Two circular fibulae at shoulders, ornamented with rows of impressed dots in lines; four ornaments in two sets at wrists, embedded in decomposed leather; the ornaments are like large modern hooks, and consist of two spirals of silver wire, with a shank or junction of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch, terminating in a hook (Plate XXIV. fig. 6). Necklet of ninety-seven beads of amber, glass, crystal, and porcelain; and iron ring near hips.

122. Adult. Fragments of iron, and knife at hips.

123. Adult. Two annular fibulae, with egg-and-tongue moulding at shoulders, and one long cruciform fibula on breast; two pairs of clasps at wrists, and fragments of iron at waist.

124-125. Two adult skeletons, much intermixed. One pair of clasps at wrist; and one small flat annular fibula at shoulders; remains of small tube of bronze, about 2 inches long by $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter, at hips, and spear-head between the heads of the skeletons.

126. Adult. Two small spade-shaped fibulae at shoulders; bronze buckle, knife, and fragments of iron at hips.

127. Adult. Spear-head near back of head; also, small urn with contracted neck; and the skeleton of a child, contained in an irregular-shaped cist, close to head of the adult.

128. Adult. Spear-head behind head; shield boss in front of face; and knife at hips.

129. Adult. No relics.

130. Similar to last.

131. Adult. No relics. Femora and tibiae very perfect, but no trace of any other bones.

132. Child of about seven years of age; head to the east in extended position. No relics.

133. Small cist containing small urn on its side, with the mouth to the north; no trace of bones or relics, and no marks of cremation.

134. Adult. One flat annular fibula, ornamented with two rows of punched circles, and one small cruciform fibula at shoulders; necklet of nineteen amber and glass beads, including one large fluted porcelain bead; two pairs of clasps at wrists; bead of opaque yellow glass from earring; fragments of bronze plates on wooden base; and knife at hips.

135. Adult. Pair of tweezers near hips, under vertebrae; knife at hips; and spear-head near elbow.

136. Adult. Spear-head near hips; shield-boss reversed, with boss ornamented with white metal plating 6 inches behind head; two ornaments of bronze, the centre thickly gilt, the spreading ends plated with silver (Plate A, fig. 3), with the remains of wood to which they have been riveted; on shoulders iron buckle, and knife at hips.

137. Child in extended position. No relics.

138. Adult. Two flat annular fibulae, ornamented with rows of punched dots and triangles; necklet of twenty-two glass beads with a bronze embossed pendant disc $\frac{8}{16}$ inch in diameter; two pairs of embossed clasps at wrists; and iron ring, remains of small iron keys, with fragments of bronze tags, &c. at hips.

139. Lower portion of large urn, capacity about a gallon, two fragments of upper rim about 6 inches distant from the rest. The whole lay not more than 7 inches from the surface, and had evidently been destroyed in ploughing; it contained about a pint of calcined bones.

140. Adult in extended position, arms straight by sides. One flat annular fibula, fragmentary; and two small penannular, with swelling ends and bronze pins, freely moving round the circumference.

141. Adult, almost touching last interment. Two small spade-shaped fibulae at shoulders, and fifty-four highly-coloured glass beads strung on wire in cable-pattern between them.

142. Very large cairn or cist, containing adult. Small spear-head at hips; knife at elbow; and iron buckle with pair of bronze tweezers at waist.

143. Large grave containing two interments, evidently females, close to each other; one having only a single long fibula with large square head and small projections at angles, the other having a large richly gilt and chased cruciform fibula, on which is engraved a swastika (Plate XXIV. fig. 2), and a small spade-shaped one at the shoulders; large necklet of two hundred and seventy-one beads, chiefly amber. Two discs of silver of about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter upon the breasts; silver bulla in two hemispheres before the chest, evidently pendant to the necklet (Plate XXIII. fig. 8). Two silver armillae of strips about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide, and making almost a twist-and-a-half round the arm, ornamented with rows of impressed crescents at each margin; remains of bronze clasp of bracelet, and fragments of small bronze rings, &c. of wire; girdle-hanger near femur composed of three bronze hangers, one of them reversed in position (Plate XXIV. fig. 4); ivory frame of pouch; large bronze ring, about 2 inches in diameter, to suspend same. Within the space inclosed by the ivory frame was a small article of bronze, about $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch in diameter, in the shape of the head of a windlass, evidently forming the point of junction for two crossed straps; iron buckle and knife at waist.

144. Adult. One flat annular, and one simple annular fibula at shoulders; necklet of thirty-four glass beads; corroded mass of iron, evidently a girdle-hanger and keys, with several small bronze tags at hips.

145. Well preserved skeleton of adult, one foot to west of the last interment. No relics.

146. Young person, bones much decayed. Knife at hips; no other relics.

147. Adult; head to the south, and body in very distorted position upon back, with arms and legs extended almost at right angles to body. Bronze annular fibula, with egg-and-tongue pattern, on left shoulder; two pairs of embossed clasps on wrists. About two feet to the east of this interment was a mass of about a gallon of carbonaceous earth and charcoal, but no visible remains of any urn.

148. Adult. Iron buckle, bronze tag, and knife at hips; spear-head in front of face.

149. Adult. Broken shield-boss and spear-head before face; knife and band of bronze bent over and riveted with iron, containing fragment of wood, at hips.

150. Well-preserved bones of adult. Urn of bowl-shape, decayed, near knees. No other relics.

151. Adult. Two large flat annular fibulae at shoulders, ornamented with double line of crescent-shaped impressed marks; two pairs of embossed bronze clasps at wrists; small necklet of thirteen amber beads, and as pendant a bronze disc coated on one face with silver; large bronze massive ring at waist (Plate XXV.

fig. 2), from which were suspended three iron keys (Plate XXV. fig. 3), and one bronze girdle-hanger; ivory frame of pouch shewing impression of canvas covering; small bronze tags within.

152 and 153. Two adult males in extended position, the head of one resting in the hollow of a reversed shield-boss, and a small diamond-shaped spear-head near left side of head; the other with long spear head between the tibiae, and knife at hips; four large iron discs round shield-boss deposited in two pairs on opposite sides.

154. Adult. Two flat oval annular fibulae at shoulders, with necklet of nineteen amber and glass beads, and two pairs of embossed clasps at wrists.

155. Adult. Two small cruciform fibulae at shoulders, small necklet of seven amber and glass beads, with bronze ring for pendant; two spiral wire ornaments (probably similar to those of silver described in grave 121); pair of embossed clasps on one wrist, and simple circlet of bronze wire on the other; large piece of iron of undefinable shape near right elbow, and iron buckle near hips.

156. Grave only distinguishable by colour of soil, and a few fragments of skull of adult. No relics.

157. Adult, in much decayed condition. No relics.

158 and 159. Two adult females, close together, bones much intermixed. One with large cruciform fibula before chest, and two flat annular fibulae, one of them ornamented with a double row of impressed circles; two pairs of embossed clasps at wrists, and necklet of ninety-five amber and glass beads, with fragments of small bronze tubular pendant; girdle-hanger at hips, with fragments of iron mass, probably keys, suspended by iron ring. The other body had two flat annular fibulae at shoulders, ornamented with double row of double impressed circles, with segmentary divisions of transverse lines; necklet of forty-six amber and glass beads.

160. Adult. Two small fibulae at shoulders; one flat annular, ornamented with double row of circles impressed, and the other simple annular; small ornament of four glass beads; and two pairs of embossed clasps at wrists (part of one pair destroyed).

161. Adult. Iron buckle, bronze tag, and knife at hips.

162. Adult; very much decomposed. No relics.

163. Grave 4 feet 6 inches deep, containing bones much decayed, of an adult. Remains of bronze clasps at wrists; flat annular fibula ornamented with impressed circles forming an S-pattern; plain pin of bronze, which has had a loop at the end, now imperfect, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, on breast; bronze finger-ring, a plain circlet, on left hand; coin pendant of bronze, and remains of another. At the waist a

large bronze ring, 3 inches in diameter, with mass of corroded iron—probably keys. The whole of the grave was filled with soil of an unusually dark colour, and in immediate contact with body seemed to be composed mainly of decayed leather.

164. Young person about fourteen years of age. Knife at hips; no other relic.

165. Fragments of three urns lying about a foot from each other, and in a vein of sand. No trace of skeleton or of cremation.

166. Adult. Spear-head in front of face, and large knife under left side at breast.

167. Adult. Spear-head in front of face, and small knife near left elbow.

168. Adult. Two long spade-shaped fibulae; small necklet of fourteen beads of amber and glass, and two pairs of massive bronze clasps with traces of gilding, at wrists, imbedded in decayed leather; knife and key at hips, with small ring of wire.

169. Adult. Large cruciform fibula, richly chased, gilt and silvered, with flat garnet in square setting at one end; one of the arms of the cruciform part missing; two other small cruciform fibulae on shoulders; necklet of forty-three amber and glass beads, with fragments of bronze disc as pendant; iron buckle and knife at hips, and rude bowl-shaped urn in front of face.

170. Adult. Spear-head and two urns near face.

171. Adult, remains in much confusion, evidently disturbed. Fragments of urn (Plate XXV. fig. 8) intermixed; small necklet of twenty amber and glass beads.

172. Lower half of a large urn, capacity of about a gallon, and containing about a quart of bones and ashes.

173. Adult, imbedded in clay; bones so much decayed as to make position unrecognizable. No relics.

174 and 175. Two adults, side by side, legs crossing each other; one had a spear in front of chest, and a second spear and reversed shield-boss beneath the head, and also a pointed ferule or pike-head of iron near the knees (Plate XXV. fig. 6). The other one with the head doubled over and lying face downwards near the hips, the clavicae and heads of humeri being 8 or 10 inches behind the skull; a shield boss of pyramidal shape occupying the natural position of head; knife at hips.

176 Adult. Two long fibulae of unusual shape (the lower part lozenge-shaped, the upper semicircular with five radiations) with small necklet of fifteen amber and glass beads; two pairs of embossed clasps at wrists; and fine urn with incised pattern before face.

177. Adult. Two annular fibulae at shoulders, one being flat, ornamented with a single row of incised dots, and the other cylindrical in section; a necklet of eighteen amber and glass beads with coin as pendant.

178. Adult. Spear-head near back of head.

179. Adult. Buckle and knife at hips, and pair of bronze tweezers; larger buckle slightly above the interment, probably of later date.

180. Adult, much decayed. Large urn, bowl-shaped, in front of face.

181. Stone cist containing bones of adult much decayed, with urn close to face.

182. Adult. Two large cruciform fibulae, and one flat annular fibula with pierced centre, forming a swastika, similar to the one in grave 95; knife at hips, and urn close to face.

183. Stone cist containing small urn with carbonaceous earth, fragments of bone, and stains of bronze and iron among the ashes.

184. Adult. Spear-head close to face, and small urn at hips.

185. Adult, embedded in clay; grave 4 feet deep. No trace of any relics.

186. Adult, much decayed. Spear-head near back of head, and knife under chin.

187. Adult. Spear-head near back of head.

188. Adult. Knife at hips. Rude stone cist.

189. Large cruciform fibula, much decomposed, embedded in rich carbonaceous earth, evidently the result of decay of animal matter. No trace of bones or other relics.

190. Stone cist, containing urn, but no trace of bones, relics, or cremation.

191. Adult. Two small flat annular fibulae with egg-and-tongue pattern; necklet of eighty-nine amber and glass beads, a portion of them being set in a framework of iron and bronze; coin as pendant to necklet, with fragment of woven fabric adhering, and a remarkable pendant of dark blue glass, nearly black, with a turquoise zigzag band round the body and a loop for suspension (Plate XXIV. fig. 3); three small bronze wire rings and fragments; large heavy bronze ring at waist nearly 2 inches in diameter, with tooth of carnivorous animal perforated and suspended thereto by bronze wire loop (Plate XXIV. fig. 5); four small tags of bronze and large gilt bronze plate with corroded iron buckle at hips; long pin on chest with annular head, broken. Two small urns lying on sides, mouth to mouth, close behind sacrum. (One in Plate XXV. fig. 8).

192. Adult, much decayed. No relics.

193. Adult much decayed. Urn lying on side with mouth towards the south, and near head of skeleton; in front of mouth of urn remains of flat armilla of

bronze tinned, with hook-and-eye fastening, and with small punched ornaments.

194. Adult. Two flat annular fibulae, ornamented with a row of impressed dots on shoulders; solid saucer-shaped fibula, having pattern of intricate interwoven lines and central raised boss, in front of chest; necklet of twenty-three amber and glass beads; fragments of bronze armilla ornamented with central waved line.

195. Adult. Buckle and knife at hips.

196. Adult, much decayed. Iron flat annular fibula, and bronze fibula with double line of impressed comma-shaped marks, with segmentary divisions of transverse lines; pendant of three amber beads and one glass.

197. Adult, much decayed. Two large flat annular fibulae, engraved with four sets of transverse lines; necklet of twenty-six beads, chiefly amber, with two of rock crystal, faceted, and one ribbed bead of blue porcelain, with pendant bulla composed of two hemispheres of silver, forming perfect sphere; small earring of simple twisted wire, and silver finger ring, making one and a half turn round finger; large clasps at wrist and knife at hips.

198. Adult. Spear-head at back of head and knife at hips.

199. Adult. Spear-head at elbow.

200. Adult. Spear-head at back of head and shield-boss behind sacrum.

201. Adult. Knife at hips and fragments of clasps at wrist.

202. Adult. Bowl-shaped urn, small knife, and bronze ferule at hips.

203. Adult. Iron pin and iron ring at shoulders in the usual place of the fibulae; small necklet of twelve fine amber beads and one of rock crystal, faceted.

204. Adult. Two flat annular fibulae, much decayed, at shoulders; head of pin of saucer-shape, with gilded interlaced lines, and rude human head, the rest of pin gone; two pairs of clasps (embossed) at wrists, fragments of bronze ferule at waist; necklet of seventy-nine large amber and glass beads.

205. Adult. Two cruciform fibulae at shoulders, and one large flat annular fibula in front of chest, pair of massive bronze gilded clasps on wrists, necklet of forty-three amber and glass beads, large bronze ring, and portion of iron buckle and bronze tag at hips.

206. Adult, with bones of small child of about seven years of age intermixed. Small iron arrow-head or ferule. No other relics.

207. Adult. Embossed bronze clasps at wrists, remains of girdle-hangers and ivory ring or frame; small wooden bucket about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, bound with bronze, at waist.

208. Adult. Knife at elbow, whole body embedded in carbonaceous earth and charcoal.

209. Adult. Two small cruciform fibulae at shoulders, and long pin with ornamental head on breast; two bronze finger-rings, and one and half pairs of massive gilt clasps at wrists.

210. Adult. Spear-head and knife near hips, and another spear-head about 6 inches from front of face.

211. Adult. Fragments of urn near face; small iron axe about 6 inches above body.

212. Adult in extended position. Two small spade-shaped fibulae at shoulders; iron ring at hips; one pair and portion of another pair of clasps at wrists; thick disc of iron with studs at back above interment. This grave is the only one in the entire cemetery that was of a regular and even shape.

213. Adult. Two small annular fibulae with bronze pins at shoulders, and necklet of fifteen amber and glass beads; two urns, burnt red, near head. Stone cist.

214. Adult. No relics.

215. Adult. Iron buckle and knife at hips.

216. Adult. Bronze circular fibula with remains of enamelled circles, and evidently Roman. Two pairs of embossed clasps at wrists; bronze finger ring, having double turn round finger; necklet of ten amber and two bone beads, and two coins pierced for suspension. These are base denarii of the emperor Postumus; one having on the reverse the inscription, SALVS POSTVMI AVG, with figure of Salus; the other, PAX AVGVSTI, with figure of Pax.

217. Adult. Necklet of thirty-five amber and glass beads. No other relics.

218 and 219. Grave 4 feet deep, containing bodies of two adults; skulls close together, and bones intermixed. Shield boss and four large iron studs in two pairs, about 3 inches from heads; two spear-heads corroded together behind heads; pair of massive and richly-gilt square ornaments to waist-belt, with central garnets in square setting; large pair of tweezers suspended by small ring of bronze; small gilt tag and bronze buckle plated with silver, and rivet with gilt and ornamented head, at waist.

220. Adult. Spear in front of face, and remains of iron buckle at hips.

221. Adult. Spear in front of face.

222. Adult, much decayed. No relics.

223. Adult. One cruciform and two flat annular fibulae, the latter ornamented with a row of concentric circles and cross lines; necklet of forty-two amber and glass beads.

224 and 225. Grave containing the remains of two adults; one with two flat annular fibulae and necklet of fifty-one very small amber and glass beads; the other with shield-boss at back of head; small bronze ring, iron buckle, and knife at hips, and truncated cylindrical urn at back of head.

226. Adult, evidently disturbed. Among the bones a fragment of a cruciform fibula, part of that found in grave 233. No other relics.

227. Adult. Two flat annular fibulae, having marginal ornamentation of triangular indentations, and small silver disc of the size of a shilling, ornamented with a marginal circle of punched circles, with three radiated lines of similar circles from centre; necklet of eighty-two amber and glass beads; Roman intaglio in onyx, without setting, representing Minerva with a snake at her feet (see woodcut); and two pairs of highly ornamented and gilt massive clasps at wrists



Roman Intaglio
(full size).

(Plate XXIII. fig. 4).

228. Adult, evidently disturbed. Portion of a flat annular fibula among the bones; no other relics.

229. Adult. Flat annular fibula with bronze acus, and necklet of thirty-seven small amber and glass beads.

230. Adult, much decayed. No relics.

231. Child, much decayed. Small simple circlet of wire on wrist, and plain urn at crown of head.

232. Adult. Remains of clasps on both wrists, two medium-sized cruciform fibulae and necklet of sixty-nine blue glass and amber beads; bronze tags at waist, part of bronze pin with hook at chest, simple wire earrings, Roman coin at feet.

233. Adult. Remains of clasps on both wrists; large cruciform fibula; flat annular fibula; and double-ended spade-shaped fibula, with bronze pin (Plate XXIII. fig. 2); small necklet of nineteen amber and glass beads; fragments of urn at head; bronze semicircular strap, suspending knife and keys, the latter much corroded.

234. Adult. Head of spear in front of face.

235. Adult. Bowl-shaped urn with ornamentation of simple diagonal scorings in front of face; knife at hips.

236. Adult. No relics.

237. Child. No relics.

238. Adult. Simple bowl-shaped urn in front of face, small annular fibula (egg-and-tongue pattern) at shoulder; necklet of thirteen opaque yellow glass and amber beads.

239. Adult. Urn at back of head, fragments of shield-boss at crown of head; knife at hips (no spear).

240. Adult. Shield-boss reversed under shoulders, four large rivets ; spear-head in front of face.

241. Adult. Spear-head near knees, buckle and knife at hips.

242. Adult. Two annular fibulae at shoulders, and iron tweezers near hips.

There were obtained from the same ground, without any details as to the finding, a medium-sized cruciform fibula, a flat annular fibula with flat acus, and a very fine long fibula with square head, having projections at the upper angles, the whole richly gilt and deeply cut, with central stone in square setting. Also four beads of glass and earthenware.

These were all obtained by purchase, having been found before my excavations, and were indeed the means of indicating the locality of the cemetery.

[The collection of objects discovered by Mr. Thomas, and described in this communication, was sold by auction at Boston in February, 1883, and acquired by Mr. A. W. Franks, F.S.A. by whom it has been presented to the British Museum.]

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES.

Plate XXIII.

Fig. 1. Cruciform fibula of bronze, thickly gilt. It has been anciently repaired with two coarse rivets below the bow. There are nine projecting ornaments, in which are set glass pastes, now much decayed. The pin, which has been of iron, has rusted away. The three terminations of the upper part and the central portion of the lower represent, it will be seen, grotesque human faces. Grave 50.

Fig. 2. Bronze fibula of unusual form expanding at each end. This appears to have had a bronze pin, now lost. Grave 233.

Fig. 3. One of a pair of bronze clamps with two pins for attachment, with small square nuts, leaving a thickness of about $\frac{3}{8}$ inch. They have been attached to wood, of which a fragment remains. The central portion, which is ornamented with small punched circles, has been thickly gilt, while the expanding ends are covered with plates of silver. Grave 136.

Fig. 4. Pair of clasps of bronze gilt, which have formed the fastenings of a bracelet, probably made of leather. Such clasps seem to have occurred in many of the graves in this cemetery, but are by no means common elsewhere. A second pair of similar design was found in the same grave. Grave 227.

Fig. 5. Pair of clasps from a bracelet, of bronze, partly gilt. Grave 116.

Fig. 6. Silver disc or pendant with central boss and punched ornaments forming a kind of rude arcade. Grave 95.

Fig. 7. Similar disc of silver with punched dots forming a triquetra pattern. In one place near the edge is a small hole by which the object was suspended. Grave 95.

Fig. 8. Two hemispheres of silver, which have been originally joined together so as to form a hollow ball. Each has six sets of bands partly gilt. Grave 143.

Fig. 9. One of a pair of bronze fibulae, the pins of which were of iron. They are of an S shape, and the terminal ornaments seem to be intended to represent animals' heads. The surface has been tinned and ornamented with small crescent-shaped punch marks. Grave 117.

Plate XXIV.

Fig. 1. Pin of bronze, the surface of which has been partly tinned and partly gilt. The ornament seems to be intended for a grotesque head. Grave 95.

Fig. 2. Cruciform fibula of bronze, partly gilt. The central ornament of the head consists a swastika engraved on the surface. Grave 143.

Fig. 3. Glass pendant of an unusual kind. It is of dark blue, with a serpentine line of an opaque greenish colour. Grave 191.

Fig. 4. Three girde-hangers suspended from a loop, all of bronze, with punched ornaments on one face only. One of the side pieces was found with the plain face upwards. Grave 143.

Fig. 5. Canine tooth pierced at the root, and with part of the bronze ring by which it was suspended. Grave 191.

Fig. 6. Hook formed of silver wire. Grave 121.

Plate XXV.

Fig. 1. Framework of a bucket of unusually large size, the diameter of which is 16 inches. The broad band round the mouth is of bronze edged with iron, and the three lower hoops, the handles and ornaments are also of iron. The wooden staves are now entirely decayed. This bucket is probably the largest that has been found in an Anglo-Saxon cemetery, though greatly inferior in size to the specimen found near Marlborough, and published in Hoare's *Ancient Wilts*, vol. ii. Pl. VI. This measured no less than 2 feet in diameter and 21 inches in height. It seems, however, to belong to a pre-Saxon period. Grave 103.

Fig. 2. Solid bronze ring with four projecting knobs. Diameter $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Probably connected with the iron keys found in the same grave. Grave 151.

Fig. 3. Three iron keys about 6 inches in length. Grave 151.

Fig. 4. Iron shield-boss of somewhat unusual type, being narrower and higher than the others from this cemetery. Diameter $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Fig. 5. Bronze tag formed of a double band riveted together at each end. On one face lines of crescent-shaped punch-marks. Length $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Grave 50.

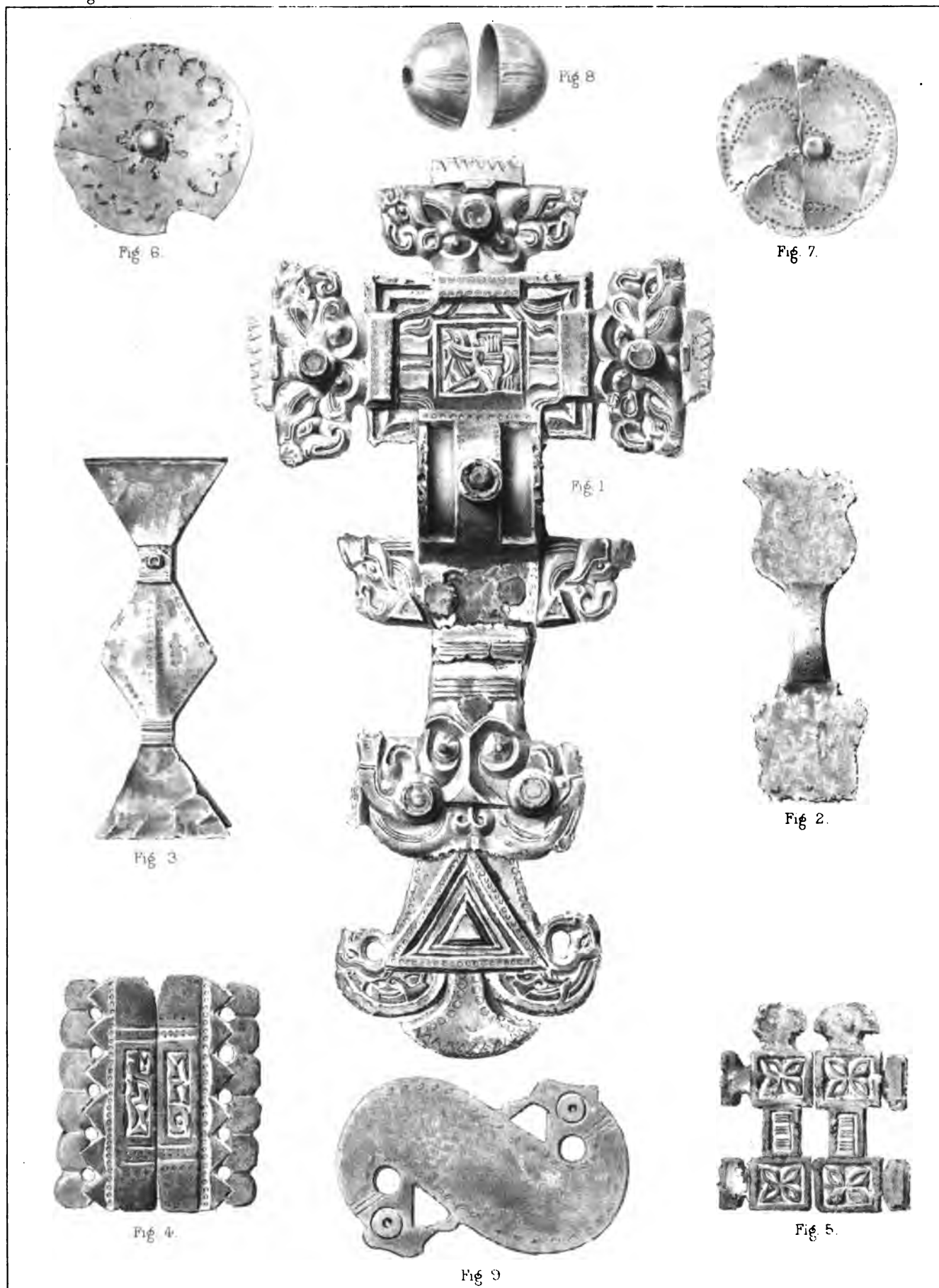
Fig. 6. Iron spike or ferule, probably from the butt end of a spear. Length 4 inches. Grave 175.

Fig. 7. Spear-head of slender make and unusually graceful outline. Length 12 inches. Grave 119.

Fig. 8. Diminutive urn of black ware, with seven projecting bosses on the body; band of impressed dots round the neck. Height $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Grave 191.

Fig. 9. Small urn of brown ware, having on the sides four triangular compartments filled with impressed circles bordered by lines. Height 5 inches.

Fig. 10. Diminutive urn of rude make, with scored lines (much injured). Grave 63.

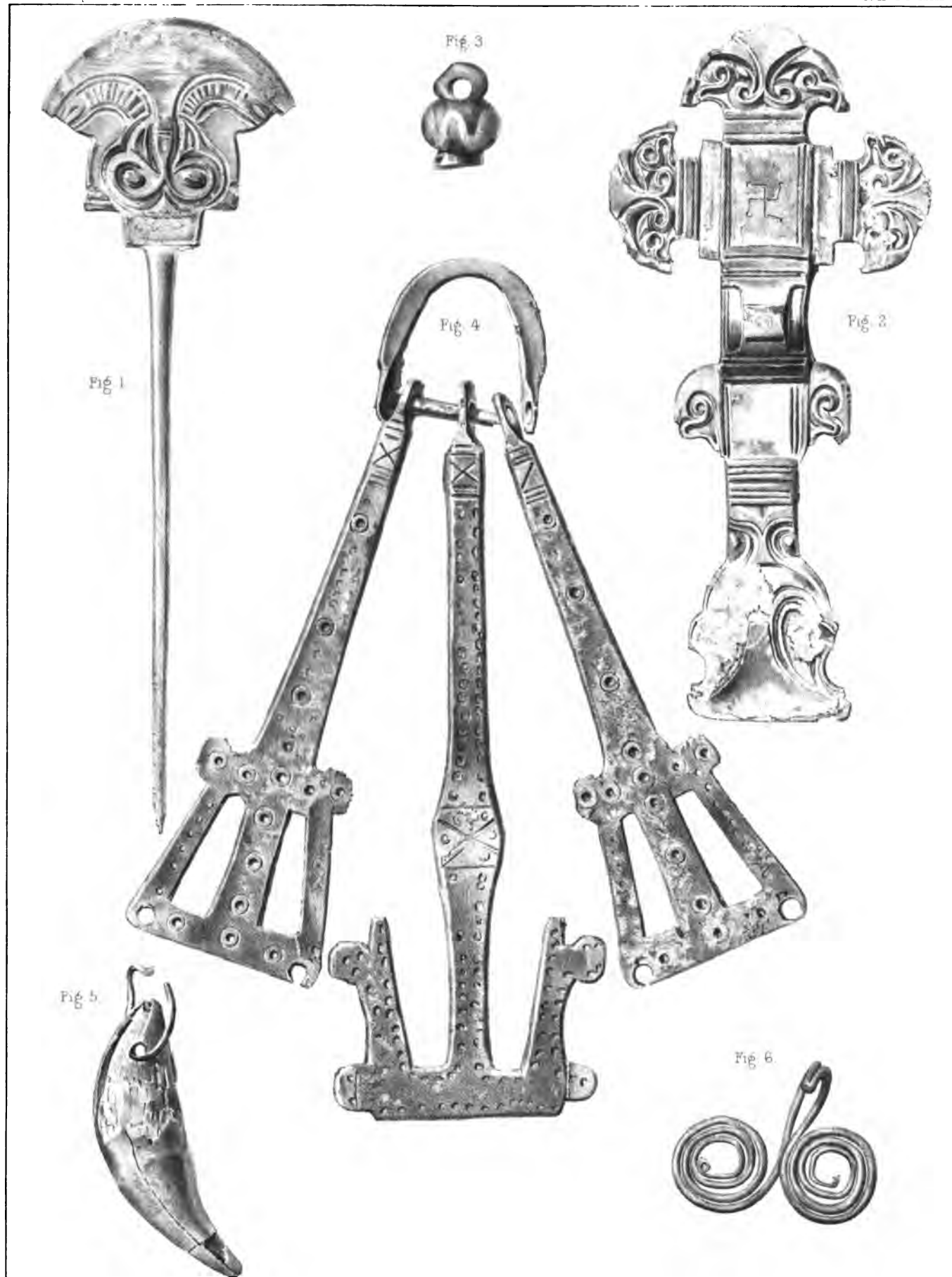


C. F. Kell, Lith.

ANTIQUITIES FOUND IN AN ANGLO-SAXON CEMETERY AT SLEAFORD, (FULL SIZE)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1887

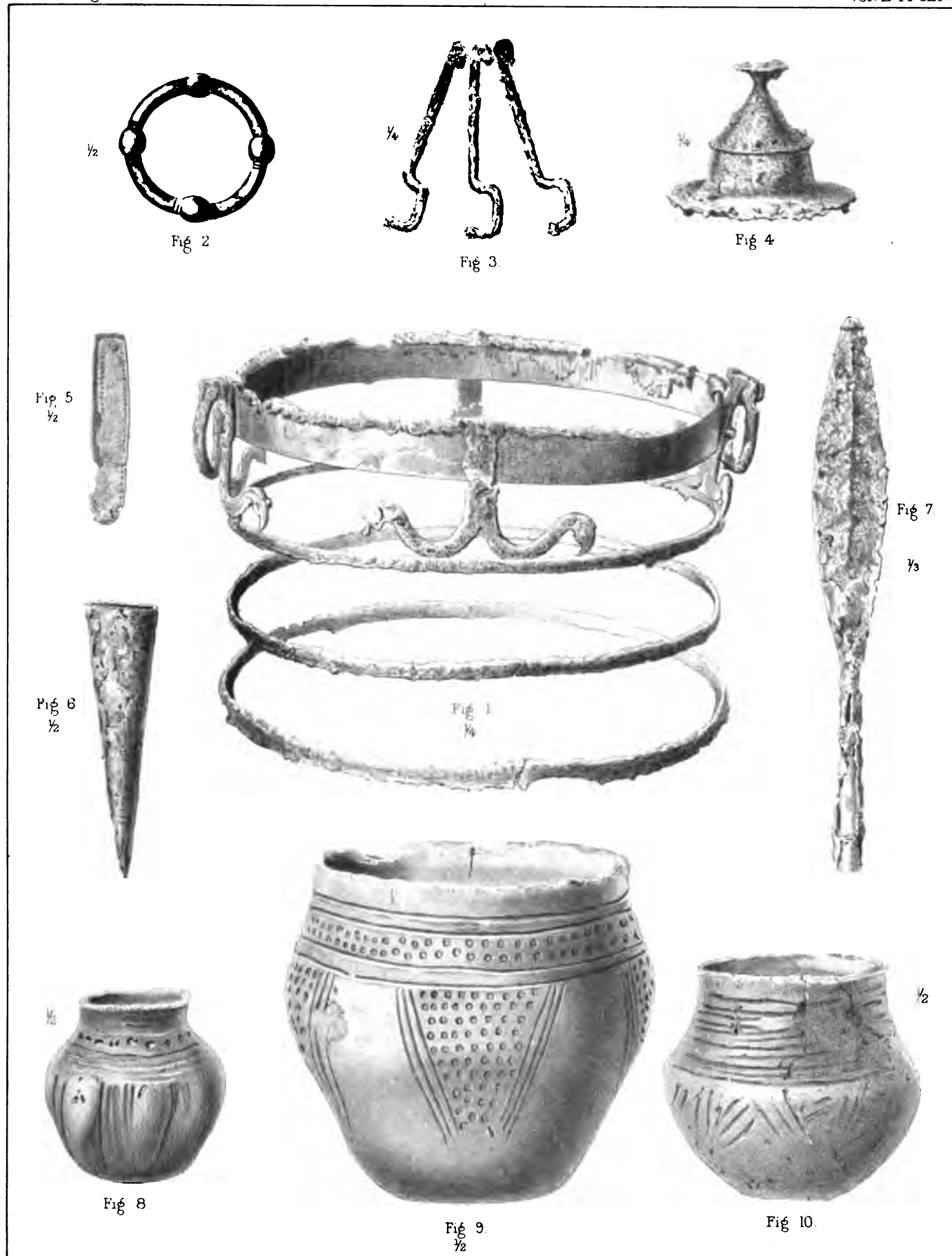
Digitized by Google



C. F. Kell, Lith.

ANTIQUITIES FOUND IN AN ANGLO-SAXON CEMETERY AT SLEAFORD (FULL SIZE)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1881.



C.F. Kell, Lith.

ANTIQUITIES FOUND IN AN ANGLO-SAXON CEMETERY AT SLEAFORD

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1887.

XXIII.—*On certain churches on the eastern coast of Italy.* By
EDWIN FRESHFIELD, *Esq.*, *Vice-President.*

Read December 14, 1882.

I NEVER consider my holiday well spent if I am not able to bring back from it something of interest to tell the Society.

I am afraid what I have to tell upon this occasion is very poor, but I hope at a future time to improve upon it.

I had so often passed Bari and the towns on the eastern coast of Italy that I was glad of the opportunity (being obliged to leave England late) of visiting this district.

There is a series of towns situated along the east coast of Italy, commencing just south of the little lump caused by the projection of a spur of the Apennines at Monte St. Angelo (Monte Gargano) into the sea. The first of these towns is Barletta, and the last may be said to be Taranto. South of Monte St. Angelo the Apennines recede altogether to the western side of Italy, and the country from Monte St. Angelo down to the heel is, speaking approximately, flat. It consists of a series of undulating stone hills, backed with downs about the height of our English South Downs. The whole district is cultivated to the highest extent with vines and olives. In some places wheat is grown, but the staple products of the district are wine and oil; corn is found only on the higher hills and the plain of the river Ofanto. To those who are interested in tracing the history of antiquities, these vineyards will be instructive. In each of them is a circular house, built of stone, and domed, looking exactly like a bee-hive, and bearing, I suppose, a great resemblance to the ancient British houses found in the neighbourhood of Holyhead and elsewhere in Wales. The towns along the coast generally are built upon slight projections into the sea, which must in the times of the early Greek colonists have afforded safe harbours to the small ships then in use, and

which even now are available for a certain amount of protection. Thus we find Barletta, Trani, Molfetta, and Bari, all built in similar situations upon slight promontories running out into the sea, while Brindisi, the great natural harbour of this coast, is built upon a promontory between two arms of the sea, and Taranto upon a rock projecting between two seas.

There is another series of towns built along the line of the Via Appia, which fall into the seaboard series at Bari. These are Canosa, Andria, Corato, Terlizza, Ruvo, and Bitonto. The names Canosa, Ruvo and Bitonto, will be recognised by those who are acquainted with Horace's amusing account of his journey from Rome to Brindisi, as lying between Beneventum and Bari.^a

I had not the least idea what I was to expect from the journey. I had only seen these towns—sometimes by moonlight, sometimes in the glaring sun of a southern Italian sky—from the train, and all I could tell was that each seemed to possess a large church with a prominent tower.. I went expecting to find some remains of the Byzantine occupation.

The interest attaching to these towns is that the country was occupied by the Normans, about the same time as the Norman conquest of England, and taken from the Greeks (the last remnant in Italy of the Roman empire), who had governed it until then; moreover, the district is, I believe rarely, if ever, explored by an Englishman.

The difficulty in doing this, particularly if you are travelling with a lady, is the trouble there is in finding any point from which the exploration can be made. With the experience I have had now I think I can see how a bachelor might see much more than I was able to do, if content with rough accommodation; but for any one travelling with his wife I think the plan that I adopted was the best, but it was by no means a cheap expedition.

In one respect the visit was a disappointment. As far as I could judge, the Normans have unfortunately destroyed every vestige of the Byzantine occupation.

I shall presently tell the adventure I had in searching out what was stated in Murray's *Hand-book* to be the remains of an old Greek church, but, although there was abundant evidence at every turn that the Normans had copied largely from their Greek predecessors, I did not find except at Taranto a single trace of what I might call the Byzantine occupation of the country.

I determined to make Bari my headquarters, believing that I should find there, at all events, some accommodation. In this I was right.

^a Iter Brundisium. Q. Horatii Flacci *Sermonum*, Liber I, Sat. 5.

Bari is the largest of the maritime towns, and has an establishment which may be called a hotel, named *Il Resorgimento*. The old town is, as I have said, situated upon a slight promontory jutting out into the sea. The old port lies to the south-east of the town. A new and really magnificent port has been built to the north, capable of accommodating a large mercantile fleet, and during my visit there was a fair sprinkling of vessels in it. It is between these two ports that the old town lies; it is surrounded by a wall, with a castle at the northern part.

The buildings of interest consist of the cathedral, the abbey church of St. Nicholas, and a small church dedicated to St. Gregory, forming the northern part of the enclosure of the abbey of St. Nicholas.

The cathedral is a Norman building, consisting of a nave, two aisles, a transept, and three apses. At the crossing of the nave and the transept is a dome. At the south-west end is a tall square tower of the same date as the rest of the building. At the south-east side is a large court in which is the house of the archbishop.

It is impossible to give any account of the interior, or even to say if the pillars are original; they have all been painted and whitewashed, the capitals painted, plastered and whitewashed, and I do not think that there is in the interior of the church anything which can with certainty be called old, although from what I shall presently say I believe that if the whitewash and plaster were removed, the old work would be found intact, except where it has been picked over for the purpose of making the plaster to adhere.

I think, however, that the ceiling, which is flat and panelled, is ancient.

Under the east end, and extending also beneath the transepts, there is a crypt. This crypt is approached by steps at the eastern extremity of the two aisles, and I am not sure that a small portion of the balustrade leading down to the crypt is not old. The crypt itself has been rather less hardly dealt with than the church, and is not unlike the crypt at the east end of the cathedral churches of Winchester or Canterbury, though not entered in the same way.

The outside of the church is almost entirely perfect, and is as beautiful a specimen of the Norman architecture of the time, influenced by the country and the architecture of the people the Normans found there, as could be seen. The arches are all round, and so are the windows. The dome is a real dome, so far as I could make it out, supported on Byzantine pendentives, and is a true roof, that is to say, it is not a mere ceiling covered with a roof. The ornamentation of the arches of the doorways and windows is most elaborate, and is such as you

would expect to find just at the period before the Norman architecture in England fell into Early English. I would give as an example of the ornamentation the south-western transept of Ely, although from the nature of the stone and the goodness of the climate the details of the outside are fresh and sharp. The pillars at the doorways are in many cases supported by animals, which were, I think, almost invariably elephants.

There is a large circular building attached to the north-west end of the cathedral, which is, I think, of the same date as the rest, and may have been used as a baptistry. I cannot speak very certainly as to this, as the inside is hopelessly mutilated, but a very little investigation, if one was allowed to pick off the plaster, would prove this. Several of the windows in the cathedral have the original stone lattice, which is very interesting. There was originally a stone porch at the west end, but this has disappeared. I did not find a single mason's mark upon any part of this, or the other buildings, although I searched for them very carefully.

The next building in the town is the church of St. Nicholas. This building holds equal rank with the cathedral in point of dignity; it has a chapter of its own and has also, I believe, a bishop, who is independent of the bishop of the cathedral; at least this is the explanation that was given to me by an intelligent resident engineer employed by the Italian Government, who has offered to be of assistance to me in any further investigations I may wish to make in this district. Unlike the cathedral, the interior of St. Nicholas is almost untouched, and where it has been touched the alterations are no great detriment.

The account given to me by the engineer of the peculiarity of this church is that St. Nicholas was a royal foundation instituted by the Normans, and had preserved its original charter and constitution; I suppose it is to this fact, and its independence of outside influence, that the complete condition of the church may now be traced.

The church, like the cathedral, consists of a nave with two aisles and a transept. There is no tower or dome at the crossing, and the transept is slightly higher than the nave and aisles. Applied to the transept are three apses; the tower of the building, which was to have occupied the same position as that at the cathedral, is unfinished. The building is a T-shaped basilica.

The exterior of the church is somewhat plainer than that of the cathedral, although here, again, the details are of the most beautiful Norman that can be imagined.

In the interior the pillars, which have been taken from some older building,

have upon them capitals which I believe to be Norman imitations of the Roman or Greek work which the Normans found there. The Normans did not take the Roman capitals and apply them to their buildings as was done in churches in other parts of Italy, but executed for themselves capitals in imitation of the Roman or Greek work. At some period the Normans were not satisfied with the strength of the building, and built two arches tying the church together across the nave. These arches are also Norman, but of a date, I think, somewhat subsequent to the original building, though not much later.

The chancel is raised and the altar stands under a baldachino, something like that at St. Lawrence's without the walls, at Rome. It is square at the bottom and octagonal at the top, but this also is Norman, and the date, twelfth century, is fixed by an inscription. There is some mosaic work in the floor, and the archbishop's throne at the extreme east end is *in situ*, all of Norman work. The north and south apses have been closed, but they are perfectly visible, and indeed you can go into them. The church is square at the east end, offices being built outside the apses, and this is not an unusual arrangement in this district; the roof is wooden.

The great interest of the church lies in the crypt. Under the high altar lies the body of St. Nicholas of Myra, which was brought from Myra in Lycia, to Bari, at the time when the rapid approach of the Turks made it clear that the Christians would no longer be able to preserve the relics from the Infidels. This took place about the time of the Norman conquest of this part of Italy, and the bones were removed and placed in the church built for them by the Normans.

The crypt in this church is exactly similar in situation to that in the cathedral. It is in a great measure intact, but has unfortunately been modernised just in the place where it might be expected to be most interesting, namely, over the tomb of St. Nicholas. St. Nicholas's tomb lies under the altar in the crypt, and it is somewhat of a business to get a sight of him. I had announced beforehand that I intended to be present with Mrs. Freshfield, but I had no idea at the moment of what was going to happen to me in consequence. On arriving at the church and going into the crypt we found the front of the altar uncovered. It is a beautiful piece of silver-work, about two hundred years old, representing different occurrences in the life of St. Nicholas and the translation of his remains. The altar is hollow, and the inside is approached by a low round archway from the western side. When we got there we found the church filled with people, and two or three canons awaiting our approach. Two large cushions were put one on either side of the priest and the canon who was

kneeling in front of the altar, and Mrs. Freshfield and I had to kneel on either side of him. A short service was then read, in which the canon asked me to join, and when this was finished the canon lighted a taper, and kneeling down went head first under the altar into this hole, and let the taper down, and then, having come out, he called upon Mrs. Freshfield to enter—all this of course had to be done upon one's knees; and Mrs. Freshfield went in, and stayed, as she thought, a sufficient time and came out again, but the canon considered it was not sufficient, and she had to go in again. I profited by this, and stayed at least ten minutes in the hole, but I regret to say that I did not bring away any information which can be with interest communicated to the Society. I did see what I believe to be St. Nicholas's bones at the bottom. It seems, however, that upon St. Nicholas being deposited there a miraculous spring of fresh water came up, and the canon proceeded to let down a little silver bottle (having previously shown us it was quite empty) very like a reading-lamp into the hole, for the purpose of bringing out some of the water, and presently brought it up full. This water he poured into a most beautiful little silver cup, and handed it to Mrs. Freshfield to drink. Mrs. Freshfield, like myself, is painfully particular upon the subject of drinking-water abroad, and I can conscientiously say that for twenty years I have never tasted a drop of it. It was a startling fact to be called upon to drink water which professedly came out from a dead man's bones—concentrated essence of typhoid fever. Mrs. Freshfield, therefore, put the cup to her lips and handed it to me. I did the same; but this did not satisfy the canon, who said that Mrs. Freshfield and I had not drunk enough to benefit us and we must drink more; whereupon we proceeded to repeat the operation, and, before the canon could get the cup a second time, I got hold of my courier and told him that it was a part of his duty to relieve us from the difficulty, and he must drink the water off, and I gave him the cup. I cannot say whether he suffered from the operation, but he is still alive. The populace afterwards were allowed to see the relics and have as much water as they pleased; afterwards I got two bottles full of it, but I think they got broken; I also obtained a little picture.

From there we went into the sacristy. The things preserved here were not very curious; there was a large Russian picture of St. Nicholas. and several pieces of the cross preserved in a not very old case of cruciform shape. There was however an iron crown said to be that of Robert Guiscard, and a smaller crown said to be that of his wife. The iron crown I should think may be old, although it must have been I think the ornament of a helmet and not of a head from its

great size: it is quite plain. The smaller crown, which would have fitted a head, I think must have at some time or another adorned a statue of the Virgin, but it did not seem to me to be old.

There were in the sacristy one or two prettily illuminated manuscripts and one old printed office-book, with what I should think is a very early instance of engraving; but both the title-page and the last page were torn out, and I could not tell where the book had been printed.

The third building at Bari is the church of St. Gregory, a small chapel consisting of a nave and two aisles with the usual triple apse, as in the cathedral, the central apse only being used. This is Norman and of the same date as the cathedral and St. Nicholas. There is nothing very particular in this building, though as forming one of a group it is worthy of note.

The next church which can be visited easily from Bari is the church of Bitonto. Bitonto is a large town standing inland upon the Via Appia. This building is also Norman, of the most gorgeous description, more like in design to St. Nicholas than to the cathedral, there being no dome to it. It consists of a nave with two aisles, transepts, and the usual triple apse. This church has been modernized in the inside, but I observed that the authorities have commenced clearing away the plaster at the west end, and the Norman details will be found completely preserved underneath, picked over to enable the plaster to adhere; but with an extraordinary perversity it is clear that those who modernized the interior did not even trouble themselves to follow the line of the arches, as is seen plainly by the moulding over the arch which has been uncovered in the process of removing the plaster. The church possesses a very beautiful Norman font, two pulpits more or less decorated with mosaic, the larger pulpit having a stone eagle in front of it. The crypt is also more or less uninjured, the two entrances being ancient. In the third chapel from the west on the south side there is a beautiful piece of Norman carving in imitation of the older Byzantine work, but obviously Norman. The whole of the interior of this church is very beautiful; perhaps the most beautiful feature is an arcade in the south aisle, one of the most gorgeous pieces of Norman architecture I ever saw. There was formerly an open narthex or porch in front of the western doors of this cathedral. The platform of this remains, but the porch itself has been destroyed.

In this church also the T-shape of the basilica has been used.

The next building I visited is the church at Trani; this is like the church of St. Nicholas at Bari; that is to say, it has a nave and two aisles, a transept without any tower at the crossing, the transept higher than the nave. It has

also three apses and a beautiful tower. The outside of this church is perfect, and has been judiciously restored by the Government. The inside has been so entirely modernized as almost to make it unrecognisable. There is in addition to the crypt under the east end a crypt lying under the whole body of this church; that under the body of the church is in the hands of the Government, who have repaired the outside; it is in good preservation, but it is somewhat difficult to get access to it. The situation of this cathedral upon the furthest point of the promontory, like that at Molfetta, makes it a very beautiful object.

There are some plain bronze doors on the south side of the church which are of a very early date. This church has also had a narthex.

There is in this town another church worthy of inspection, but it has been so knocked about as to make it more difficult of identifying than the others I have mentioned; it is in the High Street, and is a small building consisting of a nave with two aisles; the nave is roofed with three domes; the inside is modernised, but the outside preserves a good deal of the Norman work, and the west end is particularly good.

And this brings me to the church of Molfetta, which lies between Trani and Bari. I had not intended to visit Molfetta, but I was attracted to it by a statement in Murray, that just outside the town there were the remains of a Byzantine church, and so I drove there from Trani. Murray describes the Greek church as being in the Vigne de San Giacomo. I found the Vigne after some trouble; it is now used as a soap manufactory, and nothing is left of the Greek church. They show you where there was a building, and I will not say that it might not have been part of a church, but it might as well have been the part of a tower or a water-cistern. But I was amply repaid by my visit to Molfetta. The principal church there, which is as large as either that of St. Nicholas or Trani, is perfect, and is one of the most interesting churches that I saw on the seaboard. It is a tall church, the nave roofed with three domes; the central and the first dome towards the east being true domes, that is to say, being supported upon Byzantine pendentives. The westernmost dome appears to have been repaired at a later time, when it was supported, in the fashion of Lombard domes, upon recessed arches; the easternmost dome has an ornament round the rim in the inside.

The aisles of this church are lean-to, with semi-circular stone roofs, which are extremely curious. As in the churches at Bari, there are three apses to this church, but only one is used. There is also a crypt under the building at

the east end as in the other churches. It has two tall towers at the east end, which is rendered thereby externally square. This church has really no transepts, though in the inside it is arranged so as to seem that a bay of the aisle on each side is part of a transept.

The building, like that at Trani, is situated upon the sea, and is, to my mind, one of the most interesting, as I said before, in the district.

There is another church at the southern extremity of the town roofed with two domes. This has been so much modernised that I cannot be certain of its age, but it is I believe also Norman.

From Bari I made an excursion to Canosa. I went by train to Barletta and took a carriage from thence to Canosa. It is a long expedition, but the church, which is entirely different from any of those before described, is quite worth a visit.

The town of Canosa is situated on the northern slope of the low hills forming the southern boundary of the valley of the river Ofanto. The valley stretches out before you, and there is a most beautiful view over the battlefield of Cannæ to Mount Gargano while from the brow of the hill you can see the whole seaboard of the Mediterranean, from Manfredonia to Bari. The town must have been a very large one; the distance from the church, which is at the south-eastern extremity, to the Roman arch over the road at the entrance of the town, is at least a mile and a half. The present town clusters round a castle upon a high hill, approached by steps. The most interesting building is the church. This is as curious a building as I have seen anywhere. It is in the shape of a Latin cross, consisting of a nave and two aisles with transepts. The church is very low; the roof of the nave consists of three domes, and the roofs of the transepts of one dome each. The church is therefore roofed with five domes. East of the transept is an apse covered with a semi-dome, with two other apses on the north and south. All the arches in the church are round. The church is entirely and unmistakeably Norman. There is a crypt under the east end of it, also Norman. The domes are supported upon Byzantine pendentives. The pillars appear to have been taken from some older buildings. Some of the capitals are Norman, and some classical. Whatever may have been the original construction of the domes they are at present covered with tiles. The building is in every respect most curious, and it may throw some light upon the domed buildings of which the church of St. Front at Perigueux is an example.

Attached to this church, in the south-east corner, is a building which is,

I suppose, unique. You go out of the doorway, at the end of the south transept, and find yourself in a little court, now considerably below the level of the churchyard, which surrounded the church. In this small court is a large octagonal building faced entirely with white marble. This building covers the tomb of Bohemond, prince of Antioch. It is also Norman; and the great interest in it arises from the fact that it is a good Norman imitation of the building called the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem,* and I have no doubt that Bohemond's representatives, considering his position as a crusader, and his rank, built this mausoleum for him. The doorways are old bronze, and covered with curious inscriptions. There is a small hole in the centre of the building in which are shown Bohemond's bones. This building is under the care of the municipality, and is difficult of access. It contains a candlestick of Egyptian alabaster.

In the church there is a pulpit like that of Bitonto, and some ornaments round the altar which are of the same age as the church. At some time or other a modern porch has been added to the church, probably taking the place of an older one, but it is unfinished. In the sacristy is a cross which may be Byzantine.

Returning from this expedition we came to Barletta; this is a large town, next in size to Bari, though not so beautifully situated. The church has been much modernised; it is like the cathedral at Trani, but has no towers; on the south of it is an exceedingly interesting bronze statue of the emperor Theodosius, part of the plunder of Constantinople. The statue represents him in his dress as a Roman emperor of the classical times, with the orb in his hand. I see it has been suggested that the statue is that of the emperor Heraclius, but it is much too classical, both in design and dress, to be of his date. The figure is much larger than life-size.

The next building which I shall mention, but which is not the next I visited, is the cathedral at Taranto, which is also Norman. This building is larger than any of the others. It is in shape like the church of St. Nicholas at Barri, but there is now no crypt under the east end, although I think there originally has been one. The church has, unfortunately, been very much modernised inside, as well as built round on the outside, but it retains its original pillars and some of the most interesting capitals which I ever saw in any

* I have hazarded this suggestion, but the original Christian church at Antioch was octagonal in shape; and it is just possible that this building may be a miniature representation of the church of Bohemond's city.

church. Some of them have been taken from classical buildings, but a great many of them are Norman copies, and extremely curious.

There is a curious chapel on the south-east of this church, in which, I believe, an Irish saint, named Cataldus, is buried.

The outside of the cathedral retains some of its Norman features—quite enough to fix it as undoubted Norman. In this case, as in the case of Bitonto, I have no doubt if the plaster were removed the whole Norman details could be found. The cathedral is situated in the middle of the town, which, I believe, occupies the position of the old citadel of Taranto; it faces south, and overhangs the Ionian Sea. The situation is most picturesque; a large bay runs inland for several miles, and the citadel has been built upon the rock forming a promontory between the sea and this bay. The mouth of the bay is extremely narrow and has now been bridged over, but I understand the Italian Government, who are executing large works here for an arsenal, propose to open the channel into the bay again, and to use it for the building of ships. There are very slight traces of the old theatre, and there is a long Byzantine aqueduct by which the water is still brought to the town from the neighbouring hills; this is not worth a visit, as it is extremely plain, and has been from time to time modernised, so as to keep it watertight.

I made another expedition from Bari, which is of sufficient interest to be mentioned. Lying upon the downs, at the back of the Appian Way, is a large castle, built by the emperor Frederick the second, which stands entirely by itself upon a conical hill. It is called Castel del Monte, and is, I should suppose, as remarkable a building as could be found. It is octagonal in shape, with eight hexagonal towers at the corners. The building is in the most wonderful state of preservation; it must have been untenanted for centuries, except by shepherds; it has been built entirely of marble from Barletta. A great deal of the carving has been broken away, but quite enough remains to make it perfectly capable of being understood.

The entrance is from the south or south-east. From it you get a view more extensive than that from Canosa, embracing the whole of the same district; and in the distance Mount Vulture. The arches are all pointed, and the architecture is of the finest thirteenth-century work. The centre of the building is now open to the sky, but it is apparent, from the doorways opening into it from the rooms, that originally it must have been covered, in part at all events, with wood; the places can be seen where the beams were fixed. I should think it could not have been entirely covered, otherwise it is difficult to see how it could have been

lighted except by skylights. In the interior there are two stories; the rooms lie between the inner and outer walls of the octagon; they all have groined roofs; the roofs of the rooms in the first floor, which were apparently dwelling-rooms, being very beautiful, and the pillars supporting them, in many instances, remaining. Four rooms have chimney-pieces, and all the rooms seem to have been lined with variegated marbles. The earth-closets seem to have been in the towers. The Italian Government, who are taking charge of this building, have preserved it in such a way as to prevent it from suffering any more from the weather or from the shepherds, and in doing so have preserved an extremely curious feature, namely, the method of supplying water. Every drop of water falling upon the castle was collected. In the top of each tower was a large water-tank, and when this tank was filled there was an overflow pipe from it into a large underground cistern at the bottom of the building, so that the emperor Frederick had discovered a plan by which to lay on water to all the upper rooms. The engineer whom I mentioned to have seen at Bari had the charge of the work, and told me that he had had the most careful drawings made of every detail in it.

The position is extremely inaccessible, but I will tell you how I got to it. There is a steam tramway running from Bari along the old Via Appia, by Bitonto, Ruvo Terlizza, and Corato, to Andria; here the tramway leaves the Via Appia, and proceeds to Barletta. I took this tramway as far as Corato, and from there I went by carriage, which I had sent on from Bari, to the castle, which is some eight or ten miles off. Coming back again my guide thought to shorten the road by going to Andria, which resulted in our missing the last train and having to drive to Trani in order to get back again.

Going by the train, I had the opportunity of seeing the church at Ruvo, which is also an extremely interesting Norman building, much like the building at Bitonto, but, as it seemed to me, rather later. It is in shape exactly like it, consisting of a T-shaped basilica, with a transept rather higher than the nave, and a grand west entrance.

The church at Corato, which I also visited, is too much injured to be worth describing.

There still remains a group of churches at Brindisi. These are neither as large nor as interesting as the churches I have before described. The cathedral is entirely modern, the only feature of interest that I know in it being the coloured tiles with which it is floored.

There is a circular building, now roofless, and filled with weeds, which is

Norman, and is said to have been a church of the Templars. This is on the high ground above the harbour. Close to the harbour is a church called "the church of the Greeks," which is also Norman, consisting of a nave with two aisles and an apse. This church is also filled with weeds, and is without a roof. There is no indication whatever that it has ever been used for the Greek ritual, and it is decidedly much later than the churches at Bari.

About two miles from Brindisi, upon the hills, is a small church called Santa Maria de Casale. This is also said to be Norman, but I should say it was of considerably later date; it is attached to a monastery. It is a small building consisting only of a nave. The most interesting feature in this is the porch, of which I exhibit a photograph. I should say that this church is not older than the time of the emperor Frederick. The monastery to which it is attached is desecrated, and the monks offered to sell me the chapel, to take away if I liked it, for £1,200.

I unfortunately had not time to visit either Lecce or Otranto.

It will be seen that there are in this district three distinct descriptions of churches. First: the group represented by St. Nicholas, where the building is a T-shaped basilica with the transepts higher than the nave. Secondly: the buildings represented by the church at Canosa and those at Molfetta, and the small church at Trani, where the buildings are entirely domed. And thirdly: the cathedral at Bari, where the building is a T-shaped basilica with a dome at the crossing.

There are also the following peculiarities: (1.) All the churches have three apses. (2.) Several of the churches have square east ends applied to the apses.

I should say that the Normans borrowed the domical features from the Greeks, the domes being all purely Byzantine in construction; the westernmost dome of the cathedral at Molfetta being as I should suppose a reparation by some person more acquainted with the Lombard style of building. The three apses, which are unintelligible in a Latin church, also seem to represent a Greek feature; but, with the exception of a small piece of carving that I saw in the third chapel of the church of Bitonto, there was not one which I should say was a reproduction of the distinctly Byzantine clinging acanthus. The circular Norman windows form one beautiful feature in these buildings.

I could not quit this part of the country without passing over to Salerno in order to compare these buildings with the glorious Norman cathedral there. Whether having regard to its size, or its arrangement, or the internal decorations,

its pulpits, candlesticks, mosaics, or ivory altar-piece, it is one of the most beautiful and interesting buildings I ever saw.

Although it is not in my line I cannot leave the subject altogether without saying one word about the Via Appia. I do not know at what time of the year Horace travelled along it. He arrives at Canosa and there he describes the gritty bread.^a If any one chooses to buy a piece of bread in modern Canosa they will find it still gritty, caused as I believe by the softness of the stones with which the flour is ground. Horace describes that, as he left Canosa, the way became worse and the weather better;^b this was, I have not the least doubt, owing to the fact that he was really getting into the south-eastern climate: all the bad weather goes up the valley of the Ofanto, and as he got round under the shelter of the downs he would find himself in a true southern country. Many a time we saw storms going along the valley into the sea, while it was perfectly dry fine weather at Bari and in the neighbourhood. The road here is over a stony ground, and is infamous.

I had comforted Mrs. Freshfield, who had been somewhat starved on the journey, by telling her that at Bari at all events we should have good fish because Horace had called it "fishy Bari."^b One portion of our impedimenta, consisting of Mrs. Freshfield's box, always remained in our sitting-room, and we were painfully reminded of Horace's epithet as applicable to Bari by the fact that this particular box had been put by the guard of the train into the fish depôt at Bari, and for the rest of our journey we were reminded that Bari was and still is fishy.

I had originally intended to amplify this paper and illustrate it with some photographs; but after I had written and read it, I found that the subject had already been dealt with much more fully, though not in the same connexion in which I have treated it; my object having been to trace the Byzantine influence on the northern architecture.^c

^a Sed panis longe pulcherrimus, ultra
callidus ut soleat humeris portare viator;
nam Canusi lapidosus. *Serm. Lib. I. 5, 89, et seq.*

^b Postera tempestas melior, via pejor, ad usque
Bari moenia piscosi. *Ib. I. 5, 96.*

^c "Denkmaeler Der Kunst des Mittelalters in Unteritalien," von H. W. Schultz. Dresden, 1860.

XXIV.—*The History of Malmesbury as a Village Community.*

By G. L. GOMME, F.S.A.

Read January 20, 1887.

IN the north-west of Wilts is a district which contains some remarkable reminiscences of the two dominant races who have influenced the history of this country. In tracing out the history of this district, as it has come down to us by the traditions and records of early chronicle writers, we arrive at an important epoch when for the first time is brought into strongly marked prominence the outline of the community which had settled there. This community, known to us later under the local name of Malmesbury, is one of the most perfect types of the primitive village which has survived in England, and to the elucidation of its chief characteristics it is proposed to devote some little attention. Keeping before us the outline made known from early records we shall see how this is gradually filled in from facts, which though gleaned from later and modern records, are nevertheless stamped as belonging to the earliest stages of history. And when this local mosaic is completely pieced in we shall be able, I think, to satisfy ourselves that what has so persistently clung to locality in later days originally belonged to a social group, types of which are still to be found in Eastern Europe and India, where society is in a state of arrested progress and has not advanced along the lines which mark its development in Western Europe.

At the commencement of our researches we meet with some significant facts which in the first place give some kind of definite outline to a district which has Malmesbury for its centre point of interest, and in the second place enable us to discover in this district strong traces of the continuance of Celtic habitation unbroken by the Saxon conquest. It is necessary to clearly understand these facts.

The western boundary of this district is the British trackway marked in most maps as Akeman Street, running from Bath to Cirencester, while on the eastern side the great forest of Braden spread its thick foliage. In the north-west angle

of this district was situated the British fortress of *Caer Dur*. The present topography of the place sufficiently attests that it was once a position of importance, and by nature well adapted for the site of a fortress, while the lane leading to it by Back Bridge affords, says Mr. Akerman, to this day, one of the most perfect examples of the roads by which our ancestors were wont to travel.^a Before the Romans left this island they had turned the British trackway into a foss road and *Caer Dur* into one of the defending halting places along the line.^b

Driven out of *Caer Dur* by the Romans the British settled in a fortress two miles off which they knew as *Caer Bladon*. That this seems to have been the course of events is borne out by the fact that no Roman remains have been found on the site of *Caer Bladon*;^c and curiously enough there still exists a tradition among the inhabitants of the place that *Caer Dur* is "one hundred years older."^d *Caer Bladon* was built on the summit of a hill surrounded on all sides but one by two rivers, and its position as a formidable hill-fortress had probably much to do with its later most interesting history.^e

We have thus clearly before us by the light of modern topographical remains the two British strongholds of *Caer Dur* and *Caer Bladon*, and our next point is

^a *Archaeologia*, xxxvii. 257.

^b Traces of Roman work at *Caer Dur* are noted in *Wilts Arch. Soc.* viii. 6.

^c An account of some *Ancient Triangular Bricks Discovered at Malmesbury* is given in *Gent. Mag.* 1831, part ii. pp. 499, 500. These are concluded to be Roman in *Journ. Arch. Assoc.* xxviii. 41, by Mr. Syer Cuming, who, writing about some triangular bricks discovered in Marden Castle, Dorchester, says, "Triangular bricks have been discovered at Malmesbury [*Caer Bladon*], and near Canterbury, having perforations through them of about the same diameter as those in the Dorset examples. The date of the Malmesbury bricks is *not* well defined; but those met with in Kent positively belong to the Roman epoch, and constituted a portion of a hearth with which was an iron *tripus*, hooks, &c. for cooking."—*Journ. Arch. Assoc.* xviii. p. 272. On turning to this last-mentioned reference we find Mr. Syer Cuming himself the exponent of the Roman theory. Mr. J. Brent exhibited the "triangular bricks very imperfectly burnt," which had been discovered in digging for gravel at Bigberry Hill about two miles from Canterbury at a distance of seven feet from the surface, which originally had been two feet higher (a wood which stood thereon having been grubbed up). Near to them was picked up a very perfect arrow-head of flint; and Mr. Cuming pointed out a vessel, found among the débris, "the parts of which bespeaking a Celtic origin," and he "detected a portion of the rim of a rude urn referable to the stone period, so that," says Mr. Cuming, "there are within the limited area of a few feet objects of the primeval, Celtic, and Roman periods." But there is no evidence that these bricks are Roman, and they are associated at all events with primeval and Celtic objects.

^d *Archaeologia*, xxxvii. 257.

^e The position is best described by a passage in *Gent. Mag.* 1831, part ii. p. 500, where the discovery of triangular bricks is noted.

to consider their position after the English inroad, which, succeeding the epoch-making battle of Deorham, brought the Celt and Saxon for the first time face to face in this district. It is extremely difficult to decide this part of the question, but I think it can be satisfactorily established (1) that the English at once sacked and occupied *Caer Dur*, renaming it scornfully, and in illustration of its condition then and long afterwards, *Brokenburgh*; ^a (2) that they sacked the homestead at *Caer Bladon*, but left the British garrison isolated in its strongly defended *castellum*.

I have partly followed Dr. Guest^b in the reading he has given of an interesting passage from the *Eulogium Historiarum*; but as this passage is the key to much that I shall have to advance presently in connection with the early history of the community who settled at *Caer Bladon*, it will be well to quote it here. It is as follows:—

There was in Ireland (Scotia) a certain monk named Meildulf, who was so harassed by thieves and robbers in his own country that he could hardly live. He, seeing that he could not long remain there, took to flight and came as far as England. As he was surveying the country and thinking how God would dispose of him, he at last took up his quarters under the *Castellum* of *Bladon*, which in the Saxon tongue was called *Inglebourne Castle*. This *Castellum* was built by a certain British king by name *Dunwallo*, and by surname *Molmuncius* There had formerly been a city there, which was totally destroyed by the foreigners (*alienigenis*) but the *castellum*, being a fortified building, maintained itself, and stood there for a long time . . . without having any dwelling near it. The king's residence and the manor belonging to it were, both in the Pagan and in Christian times, at *Kairdurburgh*, which is now called *Brukeburgh*, or otherwise *Brokenbern* (*Brokenberh*). The hermit aforesaid, by name Meildulf, selected for himself a hermitage beneath the *Castellum*, having obtained permission from the men in charge of it, for there was not much resort of people there; and when the necessities of life began to fail him, he collected round him scholars to teach, that by their liberality he might mend his scanty commons. In a short time these scholars so learning the rudiments swelled into a small convent.^c

This passage follows up the evidence from the topographical remains, and it is important to bring into prominence its chief features. They are as follows:—

1. The Anglo-Saxon head-quarters were at *Brokenburgh*;
2. The British still held out at *Bladon*, which was known to the English as *Inglebourne Castle*;
3. The Irish (Celtic) monk settled under the walls of a fortress inhabited by his fellow-countrymen.

^a Guest, *Origines Celticae*, ii. 252.

^b *Ibid.* ii. 251, 252.

^c *Eulogium Historiarum*, Rolls Series, 1857, i. 225

Dr. Guest suggests that Meildulf "found an English guard posted" in the castellum at *Caer Bladon*;^a but there is absolutely no evidence in the chronicle for this. On the other hand, all the facts point to *Caer Bladon* being occupied by the British. Meildulf would settle where he obtained some sympathy, and not where he was at the mercy or by the sanction of people whom he considered foreigners — *alienigenos*. We are told that the castellum maintained itself, and was known in the Saxon tongue as *Ingelbourne Castle*; but this naming by the Anglo-Saxons is no proof of conquest, as the brook flowing by *Brokenborough* was known as the *Ingelbourne*, the brook of the *Engle*, *Caer Bladon* would be correspondingly known as the castle on the *Ingelbourne*. To emphasize the evidence for the continued British occupation, it is curious to find that the Celtic name of the river, the *Bladon*, was known in later times and used by the Saxon bishop in his charter of 672, and both the Celtic name *Caer Bladon*, and the English, *Ingelbourne Castle*, subsequently gave way to one which originated from the Irish monk Meildulf, the old English name being *Maildulfsbury*, thence the *Malmesbury* of modern times.^b And it is worth asking whether this Celtic monk could have imposed his name upon a community who were not of the same race and language as himself, especially as we learn from a passage preserved by Leland in his *Collectanea* (ii. 304), that the Saxons had previously to this date destroyed "a house of nuns close by the castle of *Inglebourne*, in a certain hamlet called *Ilanburgh*, by the Saxons termed *Burgh-ton*." Noting that here again we have a Celtic place-name supplemented by its Saxon equivalent, it is clearly arguable that the destruction of the Christian convent would not have been followed by the ready assent to the establishment of a Christian monk if the occupiers of the castellum were of the same race as the destroyers of the convent. And the reasonable assumption is that the castellum was held by the British as a frontier stronghold for that king who, in the language of Dr. Guest, as "lord of the rich and beautiful district which stretched from *Malmesbury* to *Lands End* must have been little inferior to the King of *Wessex* himself, either in the extent or resources of his dominions."^c

We have some confirmation of this from the history of the Celtic church which was established in this district. When Meildulf settled under the castle of *Caer Bladon* he saw around him nothing but the ruins of the former town. "There

^a *Origines Celticae*, ii. 252.

^b Cf. Rev. W. H. Jones in *Wilts. Arch. Soc.* viii. 69.

^c *Origines Celticae*, ii. 270.

had," says the record previously quoted, "formerly been a city there, which was totally destroyed by the foreigners, but the castellum, being a fortified building, maintained itself and stood there a long time without having any dwelling near it." He built a cell (*tugurium*) under the walls of the castellum, and an extract given by Leland in his *Collectanea* (ii. 301) fixes the date of this as A.D. 637. It was thus that the light of the old Celtic church was kept burning in spite of the opposition of the fierce paganism of the early Saxons.^a The same British chief who is credited with building *Caer Bladon* is also said to have built *castella* at Laycock and Tetraonburgh, and though the latter place is not now to be identified, Laycock, it is important to note, is situated in this old Welsh district with which Malmesbury is identified, and was also the seat of a British church.

And even the first glimpse we get of Saxon influences is the appearance of the far-famed Aldhelm, a near kinsman of Ina, who, in 688, became King of Wessex, but who had been a pupil of Meildulf. It was his great mission to soften and almost eradicate the bitter enmity that existed between the Celtic churches and those which recognised the authority of Augustine and his successors. It has been well said that there was a fixed determination among the British not to attempt the conversion of the Anglo-Saxon race.^b But Aldhelm came to the work fresh from the teaching of his Celtic master Meildulf of Malmesbury. There he built two churches, one on the foundation of an old British church,^c and later on he founded other churches at Bradford and Frome, both of which places again are situated within the Celtic tongue of land which had for its northernmost stronghold the castellum at *Caer Bladon* or Malmesbury. Thus again we are forced to the conclusion that strong Celtic influences existed in this district, and they must be reckoned with in any attempt to understand the evidences of early times which meet us in the institutions which now exist.

I think we thus get as a starting point clear evidence of a Celtic stronghold at the northernmost boundary of a wedge-like Celtic district, maintaining itself between the English-conquered districts of Mercia and Wessex longer than any

^a Mr. Trice Martin in his introduction to the *Registrum Malmesburiense*, ii. page xl. comes to the same conclusion as myself, that Meildulf's church was Celtic, "it must have followed the rule of St. Columba, and it was not until the reforms of Eadgar and Dunstan that the stricter Italian rule was enforced and observed." I notice also that Dr. Leo points out that "it was to the west of England and to Wales that the British Christians were driven in early times, witness the names of the headlands on the Welsh Coast."—*Local Nomenclature of the Anglo-Saxons*, p. 54.

^b Rev. W. H. Jones, in *Wilts. Arch. Soc.* viii. 76.

^c *Ibid.* 73.

other stronghold.* And in addition to the military stronghold there is the influence of the subsequent religious foundation tending to keep up as far as possible, in the midst of other influences, Celtic traditions of social organization. If we add to these two pregnant facts the extreme probability of a strong Celtic population having survived the Saxon occupation^b of the district, we may expect to find that the institutions which are discoverable at the dawn of history, or by the light of modern scientific research, are strongly tinged with Celtic characteristics. And I would further suggest that the realization of these expectations would go far to substantiate the reading of the early chronicle evidence which I have ventured to adopt.

We are now in a position to ask ourselves what are the initial facts with respect to the community who settled at Malmesbury? In 637, when Meildulf took up his abode, there was no village or inhabitants outside the fortress. In 672 Leutherius, bishop of the Saxons, granted to Aldhelm "terram illam cui vocabulum est inditum Maldumesburg." This gift no doubt included the ground upon which the two churches were afterwards built. But the building of a church other than the monastic church implies the existence of a community who would use it, and the question that therefore arises is—was this community, which now appears for the first time, composed of the original garrison of Caer Bladon and their descendants, or was was it a band of Saxons who were attracted thither by the monastery? My own reading of the evidence is that it was the Celtic community who had occupied the castellum, and who, as more peaceful times arose, and as the monastery flourished beneath their walls, again occupied the deserted village, and again worshipped in the church of their forefathers. At all events there is no evidence of any great inroad of Anglo-Saxons, and, though they unquestionably took part in the final settlement of the district, it was side by side with their old Celtic foes, not in place of them. If this is the correct view to take there will be traces of this race origin in the later institutions.

What these later institutions were it is our next step to establish. The chronology of events has guided us so far, and now we must leave chronology and seek our guide in the science of comparative politics. By this we know that an institution is not modern because it happens to have been noted for the first

* Guest's map in *Origines Celticae*, ii. 242, gives the position of the races very clearly.

^b I say "occupation," because, if Caer Bladon, sacked in A.D. 577, was still allowed to retain its British garrison in the castellum the "conquest" of the district clearly did not take place then. But an occupation unquestionably did take place when Mercians and West Saxons in later years overlapped their earlier boundaries and fought against each other or united against a common foe.

time by modern inquirers: it is modern, or archaic—the creation of an historical period, or the descendant from a far-off period—just so far as it is comparable to modern or archaic institutions known to exist elsewhere. If its parallels are known to have been created in order to meet the living practical purposes of modern times, then we may classify its origin as appertaining to modern history; if on the other hand its parallels are to be found only in those backward lands, or among those arrested societies which exist in the eastern world in great plenty, and in the western world on the borders of civilization or in isolation amidst and in spite of civilization, then we class it with its fellows as appertaining to primitive history. Guided by what we already know of the beginnings of the Malmesbury community at the dawn of English history, we purpose next to group it among its parallels either in modern or primitive history.

We will consider the structure of the Malmesbury community under the heads of (1) the basis of membership; (2) the rights of membership.

The basis of membership has some features which are of almost unique importance. Our knowledge of them is chiefly to be obtained from an account in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1832,^a which is copied from a manuscript dated 1685-6. What this manuscript is, and where it is, I have failed to discover, but that the extract I am going to use is original cannot for one moment be doubted.

Being to mention Malmesbury often in the ensuing narration, I have thought it not unfit, to say something of the policy of that auntient Corporation, which by the justice and clemency and liberality of former Kings, hath not only retained its auntient forme of Government, but hath been enriched with great quantitys of land, which are disposed amongst the Freemen and Guildeners, by very just and prudent methods. The Borrow of Malmesbury is situated in two parishes, that of Malmesbury properly, and that of Westport. The Commoners and Guildeners of Malmesbury are divided into sixe centurys or hundreds or tribes, and every Commoner is reduced under one of these tribes, and inrolled in a large skin, under the name of a tribe or hundred, so that there are six columns of names, all which persons have right of Common in the large portion of ground called King's Heath, given to them by Charter, in reward of faithful services done to King Athelstan, whose monument is yet extant in Malmesbury, by that magnanimous King, but wisely limited, so that every Commoner hath an equal advantage by it. Now the 48 names which by antiquity or seniority come to be next the names of the respective centurys or tribes, are termed the 48ths, and have an Addition of Land in a Common Field, belonging to that Corporation, as a Corporation. There is also a superiøre order of 24^a, which are elected ever out of the 48 by the majority of the 24^a, who doe not always respect seniority, but the tribes of the persons. There is also another order, which consists of 13, who by the majority of the 13, are ever elected out of the majority of the 24^a onely, in which Election seniority is also not always regarded.

^a Part i. pp. 405-6.

Three persons of this 13 are yearly presented to the Commoners by the rest of the 13, who choose out of them an Alderman for the ensuing yeer, which Alderman is a Justice of the Peace for the Burrow; and hath power to nominate a Deputy, who is to act onely when the Alderman is out of the Burrow. These 13 have also large Meadows or Pastures, none lesse than 8*l.* nor none worth more than 16*l.* per ann. to each one, but under penalties of waste, so that these grounds are not empayred, altho they pass thorow many hands.

Confining ourselves firstly to the constitution of the community, what is the evidence to be derived from this remarkable document? The answer is to be found by ascertaining the constitution of the Welsh tribal communities, which can readily be done by turning to Mr. Seebohm's *English Village Community* (pp. 181-206). Mr. Seebohm is there treating, not of the late survivals, imperfect in form and twisted from their archaic originals by the forces of modern politics, but of the early tribal communities as seen from the evidence of laws and other early authorities. And though I shall not suggest that we can absolutely identify the Malmesbury community, with its "hundreds or tribes" and its "thirteens," with the "tribes" and "thirteens" of the Welsh system, yet I shall urge that the archaic arithmetic of the early Welsh tribes has unquestionably survived in the curiously complicated system of the Malmesbury community. "Without pretending to have mastered all the details," says Mr. Seebohm, "of these obscure [the Welsh] tribal arrangements, the point to be noted is that the scattering of the tyddyns all over the country side, and the clustering of them by fours and sixteens, or twelves, into the group which was the unit paying the gwestva or tunc pound, and again into clusters of twelve or *thirteen* under a maer as the unit of civil jurisdiction were obviously distinctive features arising from the tribal holding of the land."^a Apply this statement to the condition of things at Malmesbury, and what do we find? There could be no very extensive "scattering of the tyddyns all over the country side," because the community at Malmesbury was hemmed in by the Sassenach; but substitute for this a closer drawing together of the few tribal homesteads that remained when they again issued from their castellum, and the rest of Mr. Seebohm's summary of the early Welsh tribal constitution holds good too as a summary of the late Malmesbury constitution.

In the first place we have not any definite traces of a "village" at Malmes-

^a *English Village Community*, p. 205. Mr. Seebohm quotes from the *Gwentian Code*, p. 375, the following, "there are to be thirteen trevs in every maenol, and the thirteenth of these is the super-numerary trev."

bury. There is a community of independent homesteads, but not a village in the archaic sense. This is well illustrated by the evidence of *Domesday*, which shows that Malmesbury was situated in two hundreds, that of Cheggelewe and Sterchelee, and Mr. W. H. Jones significantly asks "if the town of Malmesbury existed at the time when the hundreds were formed, is it likely that it would have been parted between two hundreds, especially when we bear in mind that the lordship of both belonged, from an early period, to the Abbot of Malmesbury?"* I do not follow Mr. Jones in his answer to this question, but it suggests to my mind that, though there was a *community* at Malmesbury recognisable certainly as early as Bede, it was based upon the old tribal system which we have been examining, and that there did not arise anything like a town until those much later years when commerce had broken through the archaic network which held the community together.

Of course, it is not to be expected that the structure of the community in the seventeenth or nineteenth centuries was exactly the same as the original from which it descended; and the disturbing causes which prevented at the starting point a free settlement of a tribal community would introduce modifications of the general archaic system from the very beginning. But, considering these facts, the twisting which has taken place, owing to the operation of modern economic laws, is wonderfully small; and I do not think we shall be overstepping the bounds of historical science by translating the modern title, "capital burgess," into the archaic "tyddyn" of the Welsh. It is advisable to consider a little closely the analogy which is here suggested; and it appears to me to work itself out in a very simple way. The particular type of tribal community which Malmesbury most nearly parallels is that of South Wales according to the Dime-tian and Gwentian codes. There the free trev was the gwestva-paying unit; and, according to the archaic arithmetic which governed the constitution of these tribal arrangements, we have the following grouping:

12 trevs under a maer = 1 maenol with a court and unit of legal jurisdiction.

12 tyddyns or 4 randirs = 1 trev.

100 erwes of pasture, &c. }
4 erwes of homestead } = 1 tyddyn.

* *Domesday for Wilts*, p. xxxi.

The Malmesbury constitution may be grouped thus :

1835. Per Municipal Corporation Commission.	1685. Per quotation from <i>Gentleman's Magazine</i> .
280 commoners	
48 landholders	The 48s.
24 assistants	The 24s.
12 capital burgesses and	
1 alderman }	The 13s.

It will be seen by this, that the 280 commoners are the outcome of the period between 1685 and 1835, and as constituent portions of the community must be struck out of our present consideration. But, what is much more important, we must strike out too the "titles" of the other bodies, and substitute for them the extremely archaic titles derived from the number comprising the body. There thus remains the three bodies of the 48s, the 24s, and the 13s. Now, if we eliminate from these the body of "twenty-fours," we are enabled to make a pretty easy comparison of the Malmesbury community with the South Wales tribal system; and I would suggest that we may well consider this body to have been the creation of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, just as the 280 commoners are proved to have been the creation of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. If this is so, we have left as representatives of the archaic tribal constitution of Malmesbury, the 48s and the "thirteen"; and my suggestion is, that in these two bodies we have the 12 tyddyns and 1 supernumerary tyddyn, with their corresponding 4 erwes (or acres) each, or together, 48 erwes.

We will deal first with the 48 erwes, or acres, belonging to the tyddyn, and endeavour to ascertain how they helped to form the group of "landholders" who became an integral part of the community. Mr. Seebohm points out the difficulty attending the curious geometrical system of the early Welsh tribes, unless we adopt the shifting characteristics of a pastoral people; and he states that, long before the fourteenth century the households were settled in their homesteads, geometrical regularity had ceased, and the land was divided and subdivided into irregular fractions.* I contend we have in Malmesbury a curious example of these irregular fractions. When the tyddyns lost their archaic nature, they could no longer keep to the old laws of succession by undivided groups, and hence at some period when the pressure of population began to tell, the question of the suc-

* *English Village Community*, p. 205.

cession to the communal property began to arise.* To meet this state of things the then possessors of the 48 erwys, or acres, belonging to the tyddyns were allowed to keep their holdings, and in virtue of them to become the basis of a new class in the community, just as at later periods the same question would arise, and additional classes such as the "assistants" and "commoners" subsequently succeeded to the inheritance of the once undivided households of the original tribal holdings.

We have next to deal with the "thirteen," and I may advance the suggestion that the close analogy this body bears to the group of tyddyns in the old Welsh tribal system considerably strengthens the perhaps somewhat speculative considerations just put forward as to the origin of the other bodies. The group of tyddyns was made up of 12, plus one supernumerary tyddyn, making together 13. And so the "thirteen" at Malmesbury were composed of 12, plus one supernumerary. This important fact did not appear until 1876 when evidence was taken before the municipal commissioners.^b Nor is this all. It was one of the features of the tribal system, as we see it in Ireland, that "the families of free tribesmen did not always occupy the same tyddyn, but were shifted from one to another whenever the dying out of a family rendered needful a redistribution to ensure the fair and equal division of the tribal lands according to antiquity and their rank under the tribal rules."^c The holdings of the "thirteen" at Malmesbury were likewise at one time, though not now, subject to a re-allotment whenever a new member was admitted upon the death or removal of an old member.^d

I shall have to explain presently the difference in the extent of the land held by the capital burgess and the tyddyn, and in the meantime will pass on to the next portion of our inquiry, namely, the basis of kinship in the community.

We have to deal with modern phraseology in considering the extent to which the Malmesbury community is indebted to blood relationship for its basis of membership; but in spite of this we can detect, I think, the archaic original which preceded the record as it has come down to us. The mode by which persons can become free burgesses was settled in 1821, and this was preserved by an Act of Parliament then obtained for the enclosing of the borough lands. It is thus given by the commissioners of 1835 :

* I have discussed this important subject, and its bearing upon such a state of things as appears at Malmesbury, in *Archaeologia*, ante, pp. 195—214.

^b See *Municipal Corporation Commission*, 1876, part ii. p. 836, "there is always one capital burgess who has not a 'burgess past'; he is paid money out of what is subscribed by the other capital burgers."

^c Seebohm, *English Village Community*, p. 236.

^d See *Municipal Corporation Commission*, 1876, part ii. p. 833.

Every son of a free burgess or commoner in his own right, he being at the time of claiming admission of the age of twenty-one years and married, and also a parishioner of one of the parishes within the borough, and likewise at the same time an inhabitant householder in an entire tenement (and not an inmate) within the borough, is entitled to be admitted a free burgess or commoner of this borough. Every man who has married a free burgesses daughter, he being at the time of claiming admission so married and his wife living (but not otherwise), he being also of the age of twenty-one years and a parishioner of one of the parishes within the borough, and an inhabitant householder in an entire tenement (and not an inmate) within the borough, is entitled to be admitted a free burgess or commoner of this borough; but a free burgesses daughter having once married cannot communicate to a second husband a right to admission: nor will such subsequent marriage give to the sons or daughters of such husband by another wife any right to admission. No son of a free burgess born before his father shall have been admitted in court a free burgess is entitled to be admitted a free burgess. No daughter born before her father shall have been admitted in court a free burgess can communicate to or invest any husband with any right or title to be admitted a free burgess.

Disqualification and causes for rejection and amoval are (1) conviction of felony; (2) not being at the time of admission, or at any time after admission ceasing to be an inhabitant householder in an entire tenement within one of the said parishes within the borough.

Blood relationship is by this constitution absolutely the basis of the Malmesbury community,^a and even where it oversteps the line of male descent, it runs parallel to the archaic system, where, as in some tribes in the Punjab, the daughter may bring her husband to fill up the ranks of the community, failing through disease or any other calamity.^b We even have preserved in this curiously constructed system of municipal freedom the archaic succession of all the sons—"every son" being entitled to take up his freedom upon coming of age.

The regulation of the affairs of the community was determined by an assembly composed of all its members.^c The report of the Municipal Corporation Commission of 1835 describes the assembly at Malmesbury as follows:—"An assembly composed of the alderman, capital burgesses, assistant burgesses, landowners, and commoners, has the privilege of deciding on the title of claimants to a share in the Corporation lands." The commissioners of 1876 obtained the information that there are four courts during the year, one for the appointment of officers,

^a The evidence of Mr. Player before the Commission of 1876 illustrates how actual was the kinship basis of the Community. See *Question 6318 et seqq.*

^b Tupper, *Punjab Customary Law*, vol. ii. pp. 74, 75.

^c Laveleye's *Primitive Property* gives parallel instances from Russia (p. 14), Switzerland (p. 94), Germany (p. 111), Holland (p. 283), and it is an admitted feature of the primitive community wherever found.

one for the swearing in of officers, one for admission of commoners, and one for the turning out of commoners upon disqualification. We do not know sufficiently of the details of the proceedings of this assembly to pick out all the points of contact with the assemblies of early social groups; but Mr. Trice Martin has preserved in his preface to the *Registrum Malmesburiense* (vol. iii. page xliii.) an interesting archaism which accompanies the delivery of the allotted portions of land to the commoners, seizin being given by the transferring of a twig and the repetition of the rhyming formula—

This land and twig I give to thee,
As free as Athelstan gave it me,
And I hope a loving brother thou wilt be.

The appearance of the rhyme at once denotes that we are in the presence of archaic custom,^a and the last line recalls that "common brotherhood" which is a typical feature of early communities, and of which we have already had some evidence in the kinship which underlies the constitution of the Malmesbury community. Further than this is the significant practice of the delivery of the twig. There exists many examples of the primitive community in England, where the annual allotment of the land is made by means of curiously formed twigs,^b a twig being placed on each strip of land, and corresponding twigs being cast into a hat, from which the various members of the community draw. The twigs so drawn denote the piece of land which each drawer is to have for the coming year. With these interesting facts before us I suggest that in the rhyming formula still surviving at Malmesbury we have a relic of the periodical redistribution of land by the assembly of the community.

We have next to deal with the rights of the community. The rights of membership at Malmesbury, governed by that intricate system which has already been noted, are entirely of an archaic order. There is the tenement or homestead. There is a right to land "in a common field," that is land held in common by those bundles of strips of acres or half-acres which Mr. Seebohm has made so familiar to us. There is the common pasture attached to the arable lots. In 1835 the Municipal Corporation Commission thus described this land:—

^a I have given some details of this interesting subject, rhyming formulae, in an article in the *Antiquary*, vol. viii. pp. 12-15.

^b *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvii. p. 383. On symbols of transfer generally, consult Spence's *Court of Chancery*, i. p. 22.

The property of the Corporation consists of about 516 acres of land, divided among the entire body in the following proportion: 280 commoners, about 1 acre each; 48 landholders, about 1 acre each; 24 assistants, about 2 acres each; the alderman and eleven [twelve] senior capital burgesses, 140 acres between them (see *Report*, vol. i. p. 77).^a

but the Commissioners of 1876 obtained much more valuable information. This information I summarise as follows, the reference figures being the number of question and answer in the evidence:—

1. The homestead, which gives in primitive times the right to land allotments in the common lands, is represented by thirty-nine properties, which belong to the alderman and capital burgesses (5487-5500).

2. The allotment of lands.—No one can hold land unless he be a freeman of the borough either by right of birth or marriage (5415). This enables them to take up their right as commoners (5420), and they take common as a vacancy occurs. The commoners then succeed by rotation to a vacant acre held by the landholders. The mode of succession to this higher body is regulated by custom. The custom is, that the whole common is divided into six “hundreds,” each hundred part having a particular name (5433-6). The commoner draws lots upon one or more of these six “hundreds,” and enters himself as a candidate for vacancies as they arise (5411). He cultivates or lets his allotment, which is not marked out by boundaries or by fences (5531). The next grade is that of assistant burgess. To become a member of this grade the candidate must first give a “seeking feast” to the body of twenty-four (6293), and then take up his allotment upon the death of a present holder. Then from the assistant burgesses are elected the capital burgesses, who have each a burgess part in the lands of the borough (5470).

Now this remarkably intricate custom has many features common to the primitive agricultural holdings, some of them of special interest. The village tenements, the arable allotments, the common pasture, are all characteristics that do not belong to modern times. Rotation by death or seniority replaces the annual allotment of primitive times. And this slight deviation is quite capable of historical explanation (see Laveleye's *Primitive Property*, p. 93), besides which we may compare this succession to long-established allotments to the Punjab custom of succession to ancestral shares.

Another fact it is important to note is the use of the word acre in its archaic sense. Each of the six “hundreds” has a certain portion of the common land

^a This is the same as recorded in the preamble of the local Act 1 and 2 Geo. IV. cap. 34, and it is important here to note this as an instance of archaic custom being recorded in a modern statute.

appertaining to it. This is divided out into lots or "acres." These, it was explained to the Commissioners of 1876 (Q. 6491), are not statute acres, some being half and some three-quarters of an acre, and it is these nominal acres which form the holding of the members of the hundreds.^a

With reference to the curious division of the communal lands into "six hundreds or tribes," I am tempted much to dwell upon the archaic terminology here so distinctively used. But whether or not there be anything to be derived from this, the real point to note is, that the sixfold division does not really affect the constitution of the community. The "thirteens," the 48s, &c., exist quite independently of the six hundreds, and all that this division applies to is the land. I think there can be little doubt that we have here the survival of an influence which was not Celtic in its origin. I have noted how the two races, Celtic and Saxon, probably met at Malmesbury on more equal terms than usual, and it may be that in the sixfold division we see traces of Teutonic influence. An arrangement into six fields is to be met with at Kells, co. Meath,^b and this, perhaps, may give the clue to an explanation of the Malmesbury system. Kells was overrun and re-settled by Danes, and there is something more than conjecture for referring its curious constitution to this period and people. Now Malmesbury was overrun by the Danes, and I throw out the conjecture for what it is worth, that the division into the six hundreds, perfectly independent as it is of the rest of the organization, might be due to this later race-influence.

One further note of parallels between the Welsh tribal system and Malmesbury must be made. Observing that in king Alfred's time, Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and even parts of Wiltshire still formed what was known as "West Wales," Mr. Seebohm goes on to point out how that king in his will carefully abstained from applying the word *ham* to his numerous possessions in the West Welsh districts, but invariably used in describing his estates there the word *land*, the *land* or the *landes* at such and such a place.^c Now the use of the term *land* in this particular way is one of the dialect peculiarities of Wiltshire,^d and particularly so of Malmesbury. There is first of all the specific title of "landholders" applied

^a This naming of the holdings by the term "acres" led to a wrong statement of the area of the corporation property. In 1835 it was stated to be 516 acres (see above), but there were really 516 *lots*, which represented 800 statute acres, if not more. See *Commission of 1876, Question 32,613 et seqq.*

^b I communicated this to the *Athenaeum* of 3rd March, 1883; and see Seebohm, *English Village Community*, p. 227.

^c Seebohm's *English Village Community*, p. 254.

^d Davis, *Agriculture of Wilts.*

to one section of the community, and a section too which enters into the most archaic parallels with the early tribal system, and the evidence before the Commissioners of 1876 clearly establishes the term "lands" as a specific phrase locally known to Malmesbury.

We have now gone through step by step the constitution of the Malmesbury community, and alike in the basis and rights of membership we have found strongly marked parallels to the basis and rights of membership in archaic society. There is one final, and I hold conclusive, test by which we may prove the archaic nature of this community, and that is by ascertaining its degree of original independence from the national law and the national economy.

There was absolutely no room for the national law of England within the constitution of Malmesbury. Small offences being punishable by the assembly of the community, the whole of the criminal code is got rid of by the simple expedient of expelling the felon from membership; an expedient which in early society led to the creation of "broken-men," who, fleeing from one tribe, were adopted by another. The law of wills can find no place, because succession to property is by kinship, all the sons succeeding to the rights of the father. There can be no alienation or gift of property, and hence no laws to govern this process. The position of woman requires no law to regulate it, because after she has passed the patrimonial rights to her husband she has no further *status*, and her position when unmarried would be that of absolute dependence upon the father.

To show its independence of the national economy we must revert to a subject which I mentioned just now as requiring some explanation, namely, the smallness of the holdings of the members of the community.

Now, the area of land belonging to the modern corporation has admittedly diminished. The commissioners of 1876 obtained from one of the witnesses evidence to the effect that, "by reputation," they had lost some lands, and do not know where they have gone to, and they possessed "old deeds relating to property" of which they do not know the existence. If we turn to the doings of the abbey, as chronicled in the *Registrum Malmesburiense*, we can obtain some explanation of this. The enclosure of the common lands round Malmesbury, says Mr. Trice Martin in his preface to that volume, furnish the subject of many of the documents. Fouleswike and the Rowmerse, which are frequently mentioned in this connection, are probably what is now known as Bird's Marsh, about a couple of miles north of Chippenham, on the Malmesbury road. Portmaneshethe recalls the familiar Portmeadow of Oxford, and was the property of the burgesses, as well as Barndehethe or Burntheath, which the Malmesbury people are fond of

telling strangers was granted to their ancestors by Athelstan for help given in the battle against the Danes.^a

It is impossible without local knowledge to do justice to the extremely valuable documents collected in this volume; and I venture to suggest that the Wilts Archaeological Society, to whom we already owe so much, should take up the subject in the same spirit that Mr. Akerman has adopted in his paper in *Archaeologia* (vol. xxxvii.) on the possessions of the Abbey of Malmesbury, in North Wilts. It seems pretty certain that the tenements within the town and the grants without could be one and all identified. Even without this local identification these documents tell us the same story which we have learned from other parts of the history of Malmesbury. The lands are intermixed allotments in a common field, and held by their various owners in bundles of acres. It will be sufficient to quote one or two examples to prove this; and I will select the documents dealing with Thornhill. This is the name of one of the six "hundreds" into which the lands of Malmesbury are divided; and I think we have here not only evidence of the ancient mode of culture and holding, but of the once wider extent of these "hundreds." The first document is a grant of "tres acras terrae cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in campis de Thornhulle, quarum duae acrae jacent juxta tenementum quondam Roberti le Charpenter versus occidentem, una dimidia acra extendit se versus terram Willelmi Parcarii inter terram Willelmi le Frere et Ricardi Pinnock, et alia dimidia acra jacet in campo de Borhtone^b qui vocatur le Ham, inter terram Roberti Woderove et terram Aliciae de la Grene."^c Here we have two acres lying together, and two half-acres lying between the acre-strips of other holders. The next document relates to an exchange of land at Thornhill, consisting of "illas septem acras terrae arabilis quae jacent in campis de Borhtone et Thornhulle,"^d of which two acres and two half-acres are the same as described as above, and the remaining four acres are scattered in parcels, two of one acre each, and the remaining two acres together. The last document relating to this district is the grant to the abbey "totum tenementum meum et terram meam apud Thornhulle, cum domibus, gardinis, curtillagiis, pratis, pascuis, et pasturis."^e

But if we have thus been able to show that one of the "hundreds" now

^a *Registrum Malmesburiense*, vol. ii. p. xliii.

^b This is the hamlet alluded to above (p. 4) as the seat of the nunnery destroyed by the Saxons and called by the Britons Ilanburgh.

^c *Reg. Malm.* ii. 184.

^d *Ibid.* ii. 230.

^e *Ibid.* ii. 349.

belonging to the Malmesbury community once extended beyond its present area the remaining documents of Malmesbury Abbey show us very clearly how the abbey gradually gathered into its hands tenements in the town and large tracts of land without, which once no doubt belonged to the community. And when we come to the charters of John, which granted the town to the abbey in fee-farm, and gave them absolutely the castle, the Norman successor of that ancient British castellum which was the source of all civil rights in Malmesbury, we know quite well that the stage when old communal lands were to be transformed into church lands had been reached.

Looking at the evidence thus, I do not think it is too much to suggest that the community of Malmesbury was once a community independent of the national economy for its support, obtaining its own food and its own clothes from the lands and flocks which it owned. One special illustration of this fact is the custom of granting land for the support of the village officers. Sir Henry Maine has drawn significant attention to this point,^a and its bearing upon the independent economy of each settlement. That we have a survival at Malmesbury in the annual grant to the alderman of a piece of land known as the "Alderman's kitchen" is evidence of a once existing system of economy which did not extend beyond the community itself.

This concludes the evidence with reference to the archaic nature of the Malmesbury community, and it will be admitted, I think, that on the whole the twisting from the original has been singularly slight considering the lapse of time and the peculiar racial disturbances which attended the early settlement of the district. It may be that some of the customs I have enumerated are to be attributed to Saxon origin and not Welsh. And certain it is that we have no evidence, as far as I can see, of the old custom of food-rents so characteristic of the Welsh tribal system. But while on the other hand we have so near as Cirencester an example of what Mr. Seebohm characterises as "very much like a survival of the Welsh food-rents at one of the cities conquered by the Saxons in 577,"^b so I would venture to suggest a survival at Malmesbury of the duty of the free tribesmen "to join the chief's host in his enterprises," in the *Domesday* record that "when the King going on an expedition, whether by land or sea, he was either wont to have from this borough 20 shillings for the support of his sailors, or took with him one man for each honour of 5 hides."

^a *Village Communities in the East and West.*

^b *English Village Community*, p. 211.

XXV.—*Two Inventories of the cathedral church of St. Paul, London, dated respectively 1245 and 1402; now, for the first time, printed, with an Introduction by W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A., Sub-Dean of S. Paul's, and Keeper of the Records.*

Read March 24, 1887.

VERY manifold and multiform are the materials from which ecclesiastical history is compiled. Sometimes from the great chronicle of an ancient abbey, in whose annals the zealous scribe has set down the minutest details, from the erection and endowment of the sumptuous church itself to the smallest payment at the celebration of an obit; sometimes from a dry catalogue of names without a single incident to vary the monotony; sometimes from the life of some great prelate, of heroic virtue and of saintly grace, towering above his fellows as Saul amongst the men of Israel; and sometimes from some petty quarrel about precedence between two officers so unimportant that the utter abolition of the offices which they held would seem the best and simplest settlement of the dispute; sometimes from manorial records, dreary and repellent at first sight, but full of precious information as to the history of property, the relative position of tenant and of lord, the value of labour and of money; and sometimes from a mere inventory or catalogue of goods, a list of plate, ornaments, jewels, vestments, a bare document full of wearisome iteration, a collection of the driest of dry bones.

But even inventories have their value; and the dry bones of the skeleton are necessary if the man is to stand before us in his habit as he lived. For it is by such documents that we get some glimpses of the wealth and art and skill lavished in such rich profusion upon the Divine Service in our stately cathedral

churches. Here are no vague generalities, no bird's-eye view from a great distance, no dismissal of the subject in a single brilliant sentence, which, with all its brilliancy, can leave no definite impression behind, but a careful, minute, and accurate examination of each object of importance, part by part, until at last the reader seems to walk side by side with the narrator and to see with his own eyes the chalice or the vestment passed under review. The enumeration may be tedious, but at every step there is something to be learned, the labour will not be entirely wasted.

The Inventories of the cathedral church of St. Paul have never yet received the attention which they merit.

Sir William Dugdale in his *Monasticon*^a printed the very important Inventory of 1295, and Sir Henry Ellis in his valuable edition of Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's Cathedral*^b reprinted the same document, but in each case no note or comment of any kind appears, and the errors which occur in the *Monasticon* are for the most part retained in the *History*. Notes are essential to the right understanding of an inventory. Even such simple notes as busy themselves with the names, dates, and titles of the donors of sacred vessels or of vestments have their obvious value; to say nothing of the more generally useful exposition of terms that have grown obsolete.

In the Appendix to the present paper two Inventories are, for the first time, printed: the first, taken in 1245, fifty years earlier than that which Dugdale published in his *Monasticon*; the second, taken in 1402, rather more than a century later.^c The latter inventory was discovered, only a few months since, in a closet at the chapter house together with other documents of no little interest.

The early date of the first of these Inventories gives it special importance. It was written in 1245, only thirty years after the granting of Magna Carta. The king, Henry III., was ravaging Wales, whilst the treasurer and his staff were calmly and leisurely making their catalogue of the treasures of their church. The king returned to England in October; the inventory was made "in crastino Sancti Bartholomaei." (St. Bartholomew's day is August 24.)

The famous York Inventory, which fills nearly fifteen columns of Dugdale's

^a Volumen tertium et ultimum, folio. In the Savoy, 1673, p. 309 *et seqq.*

^b The third edition, folio. London, 1818, pp. 310-335.

^c A very careful transcript of both these documents has been made for me by Mr. R. E. G. Kirk, to whose minute accuracy I am much indebted.

Monasticon (edition 1830, vol. vi. pp. 1202-10), seems to have been taken about the year 1510 (p. 1203, col. i.): and the great Lincoln Inventory, occupying nearly sixteen columns of Dugdale (vol. vi. pp. 1278-86), is still later, not having been compiled till 1536. Full of interest as it is, it is very melancholy reading, for it was followed almost immediately by a peremptory letter from that remarkably disinterested monarch Henry VIII., in which the king, exceedingly jealous for the well-being of his subjects, orders the removal of the great shrine and of "superstitious relics, as superfluous jewels, plates, copes, and other such like." They were so dangerous to the souls of his people these jewels, and the like, that they must be guarded with the strictest care. As he is careful to direct: for they are to be conveyed to "Our Tower of London, into our Jewel House there, charging the Master of our jewels with the same." The catalogue is very full—the English in which it is written sufficiently quaint—some of the articles enumerated are of peculiar interest (as, for example, that pix containing "the chain with which St. Katherine bound the devil"),*—but the reader feels as he peruses the Inventory as one who is reading a list of the names of men who are to be executed to-morrow. All these precious jewels, vestments, ornaments, were to be swept at once into the huge drag-net which was being drawn over England. The Inventory was compiled in the 28th year of Henry VIII., the king's imperative letter was written four years after.

The Pauline Inventory dates nearly three centuries earlier.

The Inventory of 1245 occurs on the fly-leaves at the commencement of a noble volume, preserved amongst the archives, known as the *Statuta Majora*. On the last cover is a horn plate, secured by small nails to the board of which the cover is composed, and beneath the plate is an inscription *Statuta Majora Ecclesiae Sancti Pauli*. It is called the *Statuta Majora*,^b to distinguish it from another volume entitled the *Statuta Minora*.^c The *Statuta Majora* contains fewer statutes than the *Statuta Minora*, but is written in a far finer and bolder hand.^d The Inventory commences on folio 5. b, and ends abruptly at the foot of folio 8 b, filling twelve columns and a half, in so small a hand that no less than seventy-four lines are contained in a single column.

* Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. vi. p. 1279, col. 2.

^b It is a folio volume, about fourteen inches in height by nine and a half in width, bound in wooden boards (very much decayed), covered with a rough skin of leather.

^c Nearly ten and a half inches in height by about six inches in width.

^d The statutes are printed in my *Registrum Statutorum et Consuetudinum Ecclesiae Cathedralis S. Pauli Londinensis*.

The Inventory of 1402 is a thin vellum book of twenty leaves, if the two leaves which form the cover are to be counted.^a The actual Inventory does not commence till page 9, but on the previous pages other entries of a like nature have been made at a later period. In the present transcript these entries are printed at the end so as to exhibit them in their true chronological order. On the outside cover is written

“Inventarium Anno Domini 1402”

the date being in Arabic figures.^b

It may be convenient to pass the first of these Inventories under somewhat detailed examination, though only those items can be selected which seem worthy of especial and separate notice.

First in the enumeration are sixteen *chalices*, five of gold, the rest of silver-gilt. One had belonged to Alardus de Burnham, dean, who died in 1216; on the paten was engraved the representation of the Majesty, and the foot of the chalice was set with amethysts. The hand of the Lord in benediction was a frequent subject for the ornamentation of the patens. Another chalice bore upon its foot, in incised letters, the donor's name. A figure of the Holy Trinity enthroned upon the rainbow is seen on two other patens. The chalice belonging to St. Radegund's altar had been stolen, but the offerings at the altar had sufficed to purchase another, bearing the scallop-shells of St. James upon the foot and the Agnus Dei upon the paten. A chalice of Greek work had lost its paten but retained its reed, *calamus*; a relic of the time when, as Dr. Rock says, the deacon carried the chalice down from the altar to the people, and “each one drank of its hallowed contents through a long narrow pipe or hollow reed, made of gold, silver, or ivory, which was often, though not always, fastened on a pivot to the lower inside part of the sacred vessel. The golden reed is used to this day by the pope whenever he solemnly pontificates, and by the cardinals who serve him as deacon and subdeacon, both of whom communicate with the supreme pontiff under the two kinds.”^c Three such reeds are figured by Dr. Rock. In a later Inventory at St. Paul's, a chalice, apparently the same, is described as having two reeds of silver-gilt. The golden

^a Twelve and a half inches in height by four and a half in breadth.

^b Below this inscription is written in characters, so faint that they can with difficulty be deciphered, “De pecunia et argento fracto nota fo. 4^{to}.”

^c *Church of Our Fathers*, i. 165-7.

chalice of bishop Henry de Wingham, adorned with enamels and with its knot set with pearls, completes the list. One of the chalices had belonged to a prior of the hospital of St. Thomas of Acon, who died suddenly in the prebend of Holborn, but whose name has not been recorded.

Of *phialae*, or cruets, of silver, there are seven pairs, beside one, old and broken, which has lost its companion. Two of these cruets, which had belonged to bishop Eustace de Fauconberge, had been delivered to William the chaplain, and had been stolen, wherefore they should not be included in the list.

Nine censers, some enriched with figures of angels, of silver; two *naviculae*, or incense-boats, one of silver-gilt, the other with its *coclear* or spoon; a silver *discus* or dish, in the form of a salt-cellar, but intended to serve as an incense-plate; three silver *ampullae* for oil and chrism, and two *ampullae portatiles*, also of silver, with chains of the same metal; three *poma*, or metal balls, one of silver and white metal, another of silver-gilt, the first adorned with figures of animals, the third with representations of the months; and two *crismatoria* complete the next section of the Inventory. These *poma* were hollow metal balls so contrived as to be filled with burning charcoal or hot water, so that the bishop during the intervals of service might warm his hands, and thus the more readily hold the sacred vessels.* This convenient instrument was also called *calefactorium*, *calepungnus*, and *scutum*. One of these *poma* had belonged to bishop Eustace de Fauconberge, another to Fulke Basset, the bishop then presiding over the see of London, whilst the third had belonged to a canon of the church.

The section headed *De Candelabris* is, like the last, somewhat miscellaneous. It commences with a pair of portable candelabra of silver, and of ancient work, the feet representing dragons; another pair is ornamented with figures of men riding upon lions; a third pair, smaller, of enameled silver with copper feet, serves for the boys at the high altar; and there is besides a single candelabrum of copper covered with silver. A silver *pix*, for the Holy Eucharist, which formerly hung "ultra majus Altare"; a silver comb, partly gilt; a silver-gilt cup which king Henry had given for the Eucharist, adorned with lions and leopards; a silver vase for holy water, of Greek fabric, probably the gift of bishop Richard de Belmeis I.; and a small silver vessel to contain the salt used in baptism and at exorcisms.

Six pairs of silver *bacini*, basons or dishes, follow. Two are adorned with dragons and lions, two with images of St. Peter and St. Paul, one with the figure of a man

* Dr. Rock, ii. 163.

holding a book in his hand (possibly an evangelist), another with the effigy of a man fighting with a lion (probably Samson), whilst another is gilt within "in modum crucis."

The following section is of greater interest, as it deals with shrines and relics and their cases. First, of course, is the shrine of St. Erkenwald, the sainted bishop. It is of wood, covered with plates of silver enriched with images and precious stones: of the latter, "it is said," so the scribe puts it (it is to be supposed that the time did not allow of their being counted), there are no less than one hundred and thirty. A former dean had fastened to the shrine his gold ring, set with a sapphire. It was an example to be largely followed. Walter de Thorp, a canon, gave, in 1319, all his gold rings and jewels, of what sort soever, to the shrine;^a king John of France made an oblation of twelve nobles; and in 15 Richard II. Richard de Preston, citizen and grocer, presented his famous sapphire, of singular virtue for the healing of diseases of the eyes. Special indulgences were granted to those who visited the shrine.^b On the two feasts of St. Erkenwald, bishop Braybrooke ordered that all the clergy of the diocese vested in their copes should repair thither. It was, in fact, the chief place of pilgrimage in the cathedral church.

If of secondary importance, yet still of great interest, was the shrine of Mellitus, the companion of St. Augustine and first bishop of London. This also was of wood, covered, on the front side only, with plates of silver and with images, over which stood an angel of copper-gilt.

The shrine of St. Erkenwald and that of St. Mellitus stood side by side, probably on the beam above the high altar.^c It must therefore be concluded that the shrine of St. Erkenwald, here described, was not the large structure of later years, on which in the reign of Edward III. three goldsmiths laboured for a whole year,^d but a lesser and portable shrine. Of St. Erkenwald the church possessed the entire remains, which were translated in 1148 from the nave to "the east side of the wall above the high altar," to use Dugdale's own words. He describes the shrine, and the iron gate which enclosed it.

A third shrine "*supra magnum altare*," an ancient shrine, of wood covered with silver, contained divers relics, "*collectae in diversis collectionibus*."

^a Dugdale, *S. Paul's*, 15, edit. 1818.

^b Dugdale gives copious details about the shrine.

^c "*Haec duo sunt collateralia in magno altari*."

^d Dugdale, 15.

A fourth, of wood covered with silver-gilt plates, contained a smaller shrine of crystal, and within it two ribs of St. Laurence. It cost fifty marcs.

A fifth shrine, that of bishop Richard, third of that name (Richard de Ely, surnamed Fitz Neale), was of wood covered with silver plates well gilt and adorned with imitations of carbuncles and sapphires. It is called the shrine of the Blessed Virgin, for it contains some of her hair; and, also, in a little capsule, a tooth of St. Vincent.

The sixth shrine is that of the royal Ethelbert. It is of wood covered with silver plates and set with one hundred and thirty precious stones; "so it is said," observes the scribe, for, in this case also, he has not taken the trouble to count them. King Ethelbert was a generous donor to the cathedral church, no less than to the Church at large. St. Paul's still holds the manor of Tillingham, with which it was endowed by the royal benefactor.

The seventh shrine, that of bishop William, was entirely of silver, richly gilt, with figures in high relief and very beautiful.

Two large ivory coffers, standing upon the high altar, contain various relics, in separate cases; a third (black) coffer is similarly furnished.

Of relics sufficiently important to be separately specified, there are the arm of St. Oswald, covered with silver plates; an arm of St. Mellitus, also adorned with silver plates set with sixteen crystals, and with one stone curiously carved, it was probably an antique gem, together with four greater and six lesser stones;* an arm of St. Osyth, virgin and martyr, holding her head in her hand, the reliquary adorned with twenty-two stones and with enamels and pearls; other bones from the arm of St. Mellitus, particularly one which the monks of St. Augustine's abbey had presented to bishop Eustace; an ivory pix containing a finger-bone of St. Oswald; a pillow which had belonged to St. Edith; a staff, perhaps a pastoral staff, and a comb, relics of St. Thomas à Becket; two crosses of crystal; a graceful (*gracilis*) cross, with the image wholly gilt, adorned with a stone carved with the figure of a man, the arms of the cross bearing two amethysts; a larger cross of wood covered with silver plates, ornamented with the not very usual subject of the resurrection of Adam; a small pectoral cross; two processional crosses; a silver-gilt cross in which are preserved certain relics of the true cross; and ten combs, bring this important section to a close.

The next division treats of episcopal staves and ornaments mainly. The staff of bishop Richard Fitz Neale, enriched with massive silver figures of St. Peter

* Account supplemented from Inventory of 1295.

and St. Paul, and set with amethysts. This staff was at the moment in the hands of Thomas of St. Sepulchre's, who was replacing the wooden portion of the staff, which was decayed or broken. Another staff of the same bishop, with a crook of horn terminating in a dragon's head, from whose mouth issued a vine surrounding the figure of a lion; the metal here employed was copper-gilt. A third staff, which had belonged to bishop William, and which bishop Fulke Basset was then using, was of great beauty; it was made of silver and richly adorned with figures of the Apostles, of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of the Blessed Virgin with bishop William himself kneeling before her.

Two other staves call for special remark: the first is the precentor's staff of ivory with silver-gilt enrichments, adorned with crystal and with precious stones. The second is the *baculus stultorum*. The subject of the Feast of Fools is large enough to demand a separate essay; it must suffice here to refer to a very important article on the subject in Henschel's edition of Ducange.*

Of mitres there are four. The first of white embroidered in purple, ornamented both in front and behind with stars and crescents; in each star is a topaz or an almandine, whilst in the circle surrounding the head are golden plates pierced with trefoils set with peridots, and tau crosses adorned with gems. The mitre was at the time in use by bishop Basset; it had belonged in time past to bishop Eustace, and was enriched with seed-pearls and with larger pearls. To these must be added a mitre for the boy bishop, of small value.

It is a little remarkable that the boy bishop's mitre should have been *nullius in pretio*, for the city of London was specially devoted to the ceremonial of which he formed a part. The small parish of St. Peter Cheap had, in 1431, "ij childes copes for S. Nicholas w^t j myter, j tonycle, j cheseble, and iij feble aubes for childer, and a crose for the bysshope, p's xls."

At St. Paul's in 1263, the dean, Geoffrey de Feringes, found it necessary to pass a statute, regulating in a very minute way the observance of the ancient custom.^b He recognises the significance of the rite: "innocens puer Praesulatus officio fungeretur, ut sic puer pueris pre-esset, et innocens innocentibus imperaret, illius tipum tenens in ecclesia, quem sequuntur innocentes, quocumque ierit." But liberty must not degenerate into license. Great irreverence had been caused

* Under the word *Kalendae*.

^b See Part vi. cap. 9, of the statutes as incorporated by bishop Baldock and dean Lisiens in my *Registrum Statutorum*, &c. See, especially, the statute *De Officio Puerorum in Festo Sanctorum Innocentium*.

“propter insolenciam effrenatae multitudinis subsequentes eundem, et affluentis improborum turbæ pacem Praesulis exturbantis.” Care must be taken that the higher dignitaries of the church be not brought into ridicule; the boy bishop must not, in future, select his ministers from the canons, major or minor, but only from those who sit upon the second or third form. The election of the boy bishop takes place on December 5, the eve of St. Nicholas’ day. He has two attendant chaplains, two taper-bearers, five clerks, and two of the servants of the church precede him with their *virgae*. He sups, after the vespers of St. John, at the house of the canon in residence, in whose absence the dean entertains him. If the boy bishop goes to the deanery he may take with him fifteen companions. Other dignitaries entertain other of the choristers in small companies, each not exceeding four in number. The dean provides a horse on which the boy bishop rides forth to give his benediction to the people; and each residentiary provides a horse for some person who takes part in the procession. They assemble *in atrio*, and there take horse.

The strange and profane travesty of holy rites which followed need not here be detailed; but at St. Paul’s, as elsewhere, the sermon was a great feature in the proceedings. So grave and learned a man as dean Colet ordained, in the statutes of St. Paul’s school, that “all these children shall every Childremas daye come to Paulls Church, and hear the Childe Bishoppes sermon, and after be at highe masse, so each of them offre a j^d to the Childe Bishopp, and with the Maisters and Surveyours of the Scoole.” Erasmus, himself, composed a sermon for the boy bishop to deliver.

The procession was discontinued by proclamation, 25 July, 1542;^a but the citizens of London did not relinquish it till some years later, and it lingered on in country parishes till the reign of Elizabeth.

But to return to the Inventory. The episcopal sandals and stockings are well worthy of notice.^b One pair of sandals was of red samite, embroidered with flowers, whilst the stockings are embroidered with circles containing eagles and dragons. Another pair of sandals was of blue samite, and the stockings were embroidered with the scallop-shells of St. James and with lions. Four pairs of gloves, of old workmanship, adorned with golden circles, are also enumerated.

The scribe next takes account *De cathedris et pulvinaribus*. Nine chairs are

^a See Brand, *Popular Antiquities*. Bohn’s edition, i. 428.

^b Dr. Rock, ii. 249, 250, figures a good example of each.

set down. Four of wood, and a fifth of the same material which had belonged to the sainted bishop Roger Niger; three of iron, and one of iron plated with silver, and gilded and adorned with human heads, which bishop Basset, no mean judge in such matters, it would seem, was using for himself. In 1295 an iron chair with gilded heads and balls was set apart for the precentor's use. A single *pulvinar*, or cushion, may be noticed, and this only for its use, "ad portandum textum."

The next section is of very great importance, for it describes, one by one, the more valuable *cope*s, of which there are no less than thirty-seven. A few specimens must be selected. The cope of Alardus the dean, of purple samite (in 1295 it is said to be of black samite. Had the London atmosphere and forty years of time made it become dingy?), embroidered with roses, stars, *gladeolis* (are these the sword of St. Paul?), and crescents, *cum tassellis*, on which were embroidered St. Peter and St. Paul: the morse was of gold. These *tasselli** were sometimes thin plates of gold or silver attached to the cope or chasuble, occasionally set with sparkling gems. The cope of Richard of Ely was of purple samite, embroidered with leopards and flowers interlaced: the morse of silver with massive figures of St. Peter and St. Paul, and four angels in the corners. The cope of Peter the archdeacon possessed a hood sewn with pearls, on which was inscribed the name of the archdeacon: its silver morse, set with precious stones, and in the midst an engraved cornelian, whilst the silver-gilt crest of the morse was adorned with engraved sapphires. Amongst the precious stones plentifully adorning other copes may be mentioned a *kamacu*, or sardonyx, engraved with a woman's head; *lapis qui dicitur presme*; a counterfeit sapphire; a topaz; a counterfeit presme; cornelians, onyx, amethysts. The cope of Richard de Windesore bore upon one of its "tassels" a representation of Windsor castle, and upon the other the figure of Richard himself standing at an eagle lectern and reading the gospel before a bishop. Upon the "tassels" of the cope of Richard Ruffus were depicted the martyrdoms of St. Stephen and St. Thomas. Other subjects are the Jesse tree and the scallops of St. James. The colours of the copes are generally indicated: of these fifteen are red, eight purple, five black, two white, one green, and one yellow.

Of less precious copes there are forty-four, besides twenty-eight for the boy bishop and his train, and for the Feast of Fools, but these are "debiles et con-

* Dr. Rock, ii. 33. "The ornaments on the backs of episcopal gloves, when not done in embroidery, but made of silver or gold plate, are likewise called *tasselli*."

tritae." The colours are not always stated; so far as they are indicated eleven are red, four purple, three black, eight white, four green, and three yellow.

The *morses* of the copes next claim attention. That of Alardus the dean was of pure gold with an amethyst in the centre, a sapphire and a cornelian on either side, together with other stones large and small. The morse of William the bishop was of the same precious metal, set with a sapphire and two cornelians, with other sapphires and precious stones. The remaining morses are of silver-gilt, and exhibit great variety in design and ornamentation. Two of the simpler ones are formed of silver plates upon a wooden core.

Thirty-four *chasubles* are thought worthy of particular description. Their special parts are, in some cases, minutely indicated: thus we have the *inter humerale*, the *pars anterior*, and the *pars dorsalis*, besides the orphreys and the *tasselli*. The embroideries include birds and flowers, the Agnus Dei, swords, lions and birds, a tree with branches, SS. Peter, Paul, and Michael. The chasuble of Roger the chaplain had an orphrey in the form of the archiepiscopal pall; that of Peter of Blois had the words *archidiaconus London.* inscribed upon the tassels; that of bishop Maurice (1086-7 to 1107) had the words *Mauritius me fecit frater episcopus*; whilst the ornamentation of the chasuble presented by Otho the legate had been transferred to a new "foundation." The colours here are in nine cases red, in five purple, in two black, in three white, in two green, in three yellow, in one blood colour, in two *nigra purpurea quasi marmorea*, and in one *plus croceo quam viridi*. It may be noted that the pall-shaped orphrey is seen on the back of the chasuble of St. Thomas of Canterbury preserved in the cathedral church at Sens, figured by Dr. Rock;* and a very similar arrangement appears on that of St. Regnobert at Bayeux.

The following table will show the distribution of colours amongst these vestments:

	Precious Copes.	Ordinary Copes.	Chasubles.
Red	15	11	9
Purple (<i>indici coloris</i>)	8	4	5
Black	5	3	2
White	2	8	3
Green	1	4	2
Yellow	1	3	3
<i>Nigra purpurea quasi marmorea</i>	—	—	2
<i>Plus croceo quam viridi</i>	—	—	1
Blood colour	—	—	1

* *Church of Our Fathers*, i. 322, and frontispiece.

The marble silk mentioned above "had a weft of several colours so woven as to make the whole web look like marble stained with a variety of tints. During full three centuries this marble silk found great favour amongst us; for Henry Machyn in his curious diary tells us how 'the old qwyne of Schottes rod thrught London,' and how 'then came the lord tresorer with a C. gret horsse and ther cotes of marbull' to meet her the 6th of November, 1551."^a

The numerous *tunics* and *dalmatics* scarcely demand separate notice, but the *vestimenta et eorum pertinentia* form a section of considerable importance. Some of these were evidently of great magnificence, as, for example, the first enumerated; the vestment of bishop Gilbert embroidered with stars and crescents, on the ends of the stole the figures of Abraham and Melchisedek, on the fanon Jacob, on the amice the Twelve Apostles. The vestment of bishop Richard was embroidered with lions passant and with flowers interlaced, the amice ornamented with rows of pearls; a second vestment of the same prelate was still richer: the Apostles (the name of each placed below the figure) appeared in the *apparels*, on the stole and maniple similar figures with white faces, at the extremities of the stole St. Nicholas and St. Oswald, of the amice St. Erkenwald and St. Edmund, whilst the midst of the amice was enriched with pearls and grains of gold. The vestment of canon H. de Norhampton was embroidered with lions, flying serpents, eagles, and fishes, and the stole with angelic figures, Uriel and Barathiel. On other vestments are to be found figures of St. Thomas and St. Paul, St. Erkenwald and bishop Richard; St. Gabriel, St. Michael, Cherubin and Seraphin; dean Alard's vestment bore the favourite subject of the Majesty and the Apostles, the stole and fanon having similar subjects, and, at the extremities, angels with little silver bells. These bells^b were, it is probable, not mere representations of bells, but real silver bells, like the golden bells on Aaron's robe.^c On the vestment of William the Hermit appeared the Three Kings, the Blessed Virgin, the Angel, and the Shepherds; and on the amice the Blessed Virgin, St. Peter, and St. Paul. The vestment of Geoffrey de Lucy, dean, exhibited in the *apparels* the figures of two bishops and that of St. Paul, whilst the amice bore the less usual subjects of the Resurrection and the descent into Hades.

Of baudekin and silken stuffs there was rich store. The king and queen were bountiful givers; other donors were Thomas of Savoy, count of Flanders,

^a Rock, *Textile Fabrics*, 76, 77.

^b Dr. Rock, *Church of our Fathers*, i. 415.

^c Exodus, xxviii. 33.

who visited London in 1240, Beatrice, countess of Provence, and bishop Fulke Basset. One piece had been presented at the funeral of bishop Roger, another by the king at the funeral of Alexander Swerford, treasurer, and a third at the obsequies of William Joynier, mayor of London in 1239. William Longespée, earl of Salisbury, on his return from the Holy Land in 1242, presented a piece of *pannus de aresta* of red colour embroidered with yellow parrots and trees, and queen Eleanor had presented two pieces *pro filio et filia*, probably her eldest son and eldest daughter.

Of *cushions* and *hangings* for the choir, of *tapestries* and *veils*, there is no need to speak in detail; the *velum quadragesimale* and the *velum quod est ante Magnam Crucem*, that is, the great rood in the nave, alone require special remark.

The Inventory concludes with a goodly array of *books*.

A Bible, written in the old English character (*veteris Anglicae litterae*) extending to the prophet Zachariah. On the cover is inscribed the Hebrew alphabet and the Greek.

A second Bible, of similar character but finer, ending with the Book of Job. It contained in its first cover the relics which bishop Theodore (that is, in all probability, archbishop Theodore, consecrated in 668) had presented to the church.

Another Bible in two volumes (*peroptimae litterae*) comprised the whole of the sacred Scriptures to the end of the Epistle of St. Jude. This is the copy actually used in church all the year round. On one of its covers was a record of the consecration of Richard de Belmeis as bishop of London by St. Anselm, 26th July, 1108.

A *Passionarium*, called *Pilosum* from its hairy cover, a book of Homilies, also called *Pilosum*, another book of Homilies called *Parvum*, a *Passionale* (*de Scotica littera*), a *Benedictionale* of bishop William, three books which had belonged to Ralph de Diceto, historian and dean, *de peroptima littera* or *de grossiori littera* (and it is well-known what grand volumes the scriptorium of St. Paul could produce), a *Benedictionale* of bishop Eustace (then in the hands of bishop Basset); a *Missale* of David the chaplain with its noble initial letter, a king seated with a diadem upon his head, his vesture of ruby and of azure (probably a figure of king David, in allusion to the donor's name); a *Breviarium* of Henry de Norhampton, with a noted antiphonary, *magnum et bonae litterae*, having an initial letter of gold with a field of ruby on which is depicted a bearded man bearing a roll, the

prophet Isaiah; these stand out conspicuously amongst the other ritual books which compose a list of most singular and varied interest.

They are scattered and dispersed, many destroyed, some no doubt still extant. In the cathedral library to-day only one ritual book, a portion of a breviary, can with certainty be identified as belonging to the ancient church. There is a missal in the British Museum,—and another fine book (not ritual) in the Lambeth Library,—both of which should be at St. Paul's, but which, alas, have strayed. In *Documents illustrating the History of Old S. Paul's* (Camden Society), an attempt has been made to exhibit the ancient offices of St. Erkenwald and St. Paul as used of old in the cathedral church, but the originals of these have perished, and the offices there set forth are taken from a transcript.

No one can say with any certainty what was the ancient *Use of S. Paul's* before bishop Clifford issued his mandate directing, with the consent of the dean and chapter, that, from the first day of December, 1414, the Divine Office in St. Paul's should henceforth be conformable to that of the church of Salisbury for all canonical hours both night and day.* Nor can any determine, with precision, what was the exact effect of bishop Clifford's mandate. Liturgiologists have laboured, with admirable success, upon the ritual books of Sarum, York, Hereford, Exeter, but the materials seem wanting for similar labours at St. Paul's.

We do not find in this Inventory, as we do in the later Inventory of 1295, the ivory horns mounted in silver-gilt and studded with precious stones,^b like the grand horn which once belonged to Charlemagne preserved in the treasury at Aix-la-Chapelle: nor an *Osculatorium* nor a *Flabellum*, although these were to be seen in 1298 in the church of St. Faith in the crypt:

Item iij superaltaria benedicta, vij Osculatoria, et j Muscatorium de pennis pavonum^c

A fan of peacocks' feathers would seem more suitable for the sunny south than for the colder regions of England,^d and the crypt of the cathedral church seems the most unlikely place in which to find it. These super-altars, too, might well have been described somewhat fully. It is known that one was of jasper "ornatum capsâ argentea deaurata,"^e and that this was dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin

* Dugdale, 16.

^b Dugdale, 315.

^c Dugdale, 336.

^d Dr. Rock figures such a *flabellum*, iii. part 2, 198.

^e Dugdale, 315, Inventory of 1295.

and of all virgins : whilst another,* also of jasper enclosed in plates of silver-gilt, contained relics of St. Andrew and St. Philip the Apostles, St. Dionysius and St. Blaise, martyrs, and a piece of the cross of St. Andrew. St. George's chapel, Windsor castle, was rich in these super-altars, having no less than six—one of jasper, one of alabaster, and four of marble. Dr. Rock figures a fine example of a super-altar in oriental jasper framed in oak set in silver;^b though even this was less magnificent than the super-altar set in gold amongst the treasures of Salisbury cathedral church in 1222. Jet was occasionally employed in the construction of super-altars, as at Durham in 1372 :^c but jasper seems to have been preferred to any other material. Cornelius à Lapide,^d in his Commentary on the Apocalypse, enumerates many of its qualities. It is a valuable amulet against poisons and sorceries, and it drives away spectres and apparitions ; the stone derives its name from *ἰασις*, id est, *salus*, and *σπίλος*, id est, *macula*, because the spots in it are health-giving and medicinal ; furthermore, it stops a flux of blood ; and so on, with more to the like purpose, for several columns of very quaint and curious mystical interpretation.

It is to be regretted that in 1245 the treasurer and his colleagues do not seem to have visited the several chapels and altars, as his successor did in 1295 : or possibly we have no record of his visit, as the account ends abruptly at the bottom of the page.

The Inventory of 1402 will not require so long or so detailed consideration as that of 1245. It differs widely from the earlier catalogue in its mode of arrangement, and incidentally supplies some curious information as to the manner in which the vestments were arranged when not in use. In the treasury, on the west, and on the right-hand side stood a wardrobe, *armariolum*, in which were twenty-four *perticae*, pegs, or rods, or frames, from which the copes and chasubles could be suspended ; one *pertica* holding from three to six copes. The vestments were arranged according to their colour. In the second *armariolum*, very near to the first, were six-and-twenty *perticae*, whereof four were vacant, but the rest well furnished. The third wardrobe had five-and-twenty *perticae*, the fourth, outside the door of the treasury, had but seventeen. Besides these, in the treasury, but not in any cabinet, were six-and-twenty copes in daily use. So far the scribe has enumerated one hundred and seventy-nine copes, fifty-one chasubles, and ninety-two tunicles.

* Dugdale, 338, *ib.*

^c Dr. Rock, i, 254.

^b Dr. Rock, i, 257.

^d *Commentaria in Apocalypsin*, xxi. 19.

The following table will show the distribution of colours amongst these vestments :—

	Copes.	Chasubles.	Tunics.
Red	59	12	30
Purple	13	1	4
Black	30	7	12
White	41	15	16
Green	6	6	6
Yellow	1	1	—
Blue	27	7	20
Red mixed with blue	—	1	2
Diversi coloris	2	—	—
Colour not named	—	1	2
	<hr/> 179	<hr/> 51	<hr/> 92

Two queens have contributed to this rich collection. Anne of Bohemia presented six copes embroidered with golden falcons and with her arms ; and Isabella, queen of Richard II., gave two copes, a chasuble, and two tunics, of red velvet studded with golden angels and her arms. Specially worthy of notice must have been a cope powdered with golden letters (*videlicet*, M) and angels ; and a chasuble and two tunics *semées* with the Holy Name *Jhesu*. But the rich gifts of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, take precedence of all others. First come some precious copes of cloth of gold, ornamented with flowers and golden crowns, together with a chasuble and two tunics of the same set ; two copes of cloth of gold and red velvet adorned with lions and collars, with a stag lying in each collar, the chasuble and two tunics of the set are powdered with golden leopards ; besides these are two copes and two tunics of cloth of gold, of blue colour *semées* with golden roses and white ostrich feathers ; there are fifteen other copes, one chasuble, and two tunics of the same set, a princely gift indeed. John Lynton, formerly chamberlain, had presented two processional banners of silken cloth, of green colour, for Easter, and William of Cologne had given a third. .

Next in order, in the treasury, are arranged the albs, amices, stoles, and fanons, some of them folded in covers of canvas. The embroidery is well worth a

record. In one case the apparels of the amice exhibit the history of St. Thomas of Canterbury; in another the head of the Redeemer, the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul, and the arms of England and France; in a third gold strewn with pearls is freely employed; in a fourth is seen the history of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Our Lord and His Apostles sitting on white thrones, and the story of the Passion of the Lord. In other cases the ornaments are heraldic in their character, and we have golden griffins on a blue ground; or golden crowns and ostrich feathers.

Here also are found two frontals for the high altar of silken cloth, preciously embroidered, with flowers and golden crowns. In the centre is the seated figure of the Blessed Virgin, on one side the representation of the Holy Trinity, and on the other the image of the Saviour, all in silver seated upon golden thrones. St. Anne, St. Mary, and St. Elizabeth also form part of the composition.

A black frontal, also for the high altar, exhibits figures of the Lord, with St. Mary and St. John Evangelist on either hand. Other frontals, curtains, hangings for the high altar are described in minute detail.

A remarkable set of three albs and three amices of red colour, of cloth of gold, was embroidered with golden chalices and white Hosts placed between two wings of gold. A fine set of three albs and three amices, with two stoles and three fanons, the gift of the duke of Lancaster, bore his golden leopards and the letter S. in reference to the collar of SS., the cognizance of the duke.

Albs and amices for the chorister boys are also found in the catalogue.

In this Inventory the plate comes after the vestments, and there are to be seen three chalices of pure gold, one the gift of the countess of Pembroke, the second (already described) had belonged to dean Alardus, but the third had been pledged by the dean and chapter in the time of dean Appelby for fifty marcs in the chest of Michael de Northborough, bishop of London (1354 to 1361). The other four chalices are of silver-gilt. There were sixteen chalices in the earlier Inventory, five of gold.—Where are they now?

Of thuribles with their chains enough has been said. Four painted angels carved in wood to be placed upon the four staves which bear the body of the Lord, “sive supra Dominum regem seu reginam, cum uno panno, prout est moris,” have not been before enumerated.

A maser, lined with silver, and ornamented with a representation of the Majesty at the bottom of the bowl; a broad cup formed from a beryll; a silver vase, *videlicet unum Boket*, with a silver *aspersorium*; a great processional cross

with a figure of the Crucified, with St. Mary and St. John, with divers relics of the Holy Cross; a cross of crystal for use on Corpus Christi day and for Easter; are all objects of more than usual interest.

Amongst the mitres that of Simon of Sudbury stands conspicuous, with its pearls and precious stones; nor are gloves and pastoral staves wanting, amongst them the precentor's staff of ivory and two little staves for the boy bishop, of moderate value. A banner of green silk for the great rood in the Paschal season exhibits figures of St. Peter and St. Paul. Then follow pieces of gold cloth laid up for future use in chests. It is thought worthy of notice that fifteen pieces of gold cloth of Rakemask were divided amongst the dean and four of the canons on the 24th of February, 1404, each person having three pieces, and that other pieces were laid aside to make chasubles for divers altars in the church.

Two interesting notes are added:

After the battle of Shrewsbury, 23rd July, 1403, in which Henry Percy was killed, queen Joan of Navarre, the second queen of Henry IV., presented two pieces of cloth of gold "*sufficientes et boni valoris*." Later still, on the death of his father, Henry IV. (20 March, 1412-3), his son and successor, Henry V., at the funeral presented six cloths of gold of red ground ornamented with golden crowns.

Here ends the second Inventory. The blank leaves of vellum which the original scribe had left at the beginning of his work presented a great attraction to other writers, and in 1445 two additional Inventories are inserted.

The first of these is very brief, and relates chiefly to certain altars in the church, the most noticeable of which are: the altar at the shrine of St. Erkenwald and the altar at the famous crucifix at the north door, the oblations at which in two years near the middle of the fourteenth century amounted to 647*l.* 6*s.* 7*d.*, besides forty-one and a-half florins in gold. The magnificent cross presented by cardinal Beaufort, son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, to the chantry endowed in his father's memory, receives a brief and passing notice. An extended contemporary account of this crucifix, from another manuscript preserved amongst the archives, is added at the end of the Inventory. It must have been a superb example of the silversmith's art. The purses and money-boxes are examined, and, though not rich in their contents, present several features of interest; the phrases employed, *pecunia deaurata*, *argentum fractum*, *annuli moniles*, have each of them their story to tell in reference to the money of the day. Another case contained pontifical rings, together with thirteen rings of pure gold, two *monilia* of pure gold, and a spoon of jasper with a silver-gilt handle.

The second brief Inventory, taken 7th July, 1445, relates to the Lady chapel. Each chapel in the cathedral church had its own furniture, as may be seen more fully in the Inventory of 1295: and probably the richest of these would be the Lady chapel. A few of the most important objects only shall be noted. A round crystal column containing divers relics, and surmounted by a cross adorned with coral; a pax, *una pulcra tabula* it is called, for the kiss of peace, set with rubies and other stones, and adorned with a figure of the Blessed Virgin seated, holding the Holy Child in her left hand and a globe (*pomum*) in her right; a little image of the Blessed Virgin in ivory, sitting under an ivory tabernacle; various candelabra and a "Kandilstikk"; an ancient pax of gilt tin, with an image of the Crucified with St. Mary and St. John; another pax of copper-gilt, with a cross without a figure in the midst; various vestments, and especially an ancient chasuble with a silver cross in the midst, and lions on the one side and "flowrde-lice" on the other; pulpit-cloths of divers colours.

The books with which the Inventory draws to a close may not be dismissed without a few words: for in addition to the usual missal, gospel and epistle books, and the like, are a series of volumes relating to the music of the church. There is a roll *cum diversis canticis notatis*, two beautiful books (each is described as *liber pulcher*) *de organico cantu*; three books *de plano cantu*; another book *de cantu organico*; seven books, each described as *quaternus*, also *de organico cantu*; and another *quaternus pro organis*; and two others *de plano cantu*.

These music-books have the greater interest, because very little is known about the early music of the cathedral. In the large volume of the Statutes of St. Paul's the organ is mentioned only twice, in 1533-4, and in 1598: whilst in Dugdale's *St. Paul's* (so far as the index is to be trusted) there is but one solitary reference to the instrument,^a and that only to the organ in the modern church. The organist was not a statutable officer, and in all probability the singers attached to the choir took their places in turn at the organ. This was certainly the arrangement in the earl of Northumberland's chapel in the reign of Edward IV.^b

The term *de plano cantu* needs no explanation. It refers, of course, to the ancient church music introduced into England by St. Augustine, who had learned it from St. Gregory himself.^c *Cantus organicus* is a more difficult expression.

^a Dugdale, 183.

^b Dr. Rimbault, *Old Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal*. Introd. xv.

^c For full details, see an article on *Plain Song* in Sir George Grove's *Dictionary of Music*, by W. S. Rockstro.

Dr. Stainer, the accomplished organist of St. Paul's, supplies a curious example of this kind of musical treatment together with a clear definition of it :—

“*Cantus organicus* signifies the singing of the *Organum*, called also *Diaphonia* and *Symphonia*. Diaphony was the result of the earliest attempts at harmonizing a given melody. It was explained by the monk Hucbald in the tenth century in his *Musica Enchiriadis*. (Gerbertus, *Script. Ant.*) Guido d'Arezzo in the eleventh century gave an account of it, and of the laws which governed it, in his *Micrologus*, defining it as “*vocum disjunctionem quam nos organum vocamus, cum disjunctae ab invicem voces et concorditer dissonant et dissonantes concordant.*” It consisted of adding a part above a given melody at the interval of a fifth, and another below it at the interval of a fourth. The relation of the parts to the melody being strictly adhered to, as the melody proceeded there resulted a succession of parallel quarts, quints, and octaves, which would be intolerable to modern ears. The following is part of an example from Gerbertus, altered to modern notation. The middle part is the melody, and was probably sung louder than the parts above and below it, which form the whole into an organum.”

DIAPASON.
DIAPENTE.
DIATESSARON.

Mi - se - re - re me - i &c.

Singularly harsh and unpleasant as these harmonies are, according to modern ideas, they were familiar enough to the worshippers at St. Paul's in the early part of the fifteenth century.

The rich store of vestments recorded in the inventories now for the first time printed, when supplemented by those which are enumerated in the inventory of 1295 (which is somewhat fuller throughout, and much more full in its enumeration of the treasures of the separate chapels), sets before the reader a clear and definite view of the wealth contained in the treasury of a great cathedral church in the middle of the thirteenth century, and at its close, and at the commencement of the fifteenth. It is specially observable that many of the ornaments and vestments were, as were also many of the chantries, the gift of the clergy of the church. It is easy for ignorant and vulgar minds to speak of the clergy of the time as extorting from the laity, under the dread of mysterious penalties, the precious gifts and endowments which were so freely given, but at least it must be

remembered that the clergy themselves were generous givers, and the records of the treasuries of the cathedral churches may be put in evidence.

It is possible, after the perusal of such Inventories, to realise such a scene as Fox the martyrologist describes, on occasion of the thanksgiving in London for the restoration to health of the king of France in 1536.^a There was a grand procession: the waits and children of grammar schools, with their masters and ushers; the friars and priors with their copes and crosses; the clerks and priests of London in their copes; the monks of Westminster, the canons and clergy of St. Paul's, the choir of the cathedral church, the bishop, and the abbots. He estimated the number of "gay copes" at seven hundred and fourteen. In a like procession, on the feast of the conversion of St. Paul, in 1555, "there were fourscore and ten crosses, one hundred and sixty priests and clerkes who had everie one of them copes upon their backs." It has been seen already that in 1402 St. Paul's could have supplied 179 copes of its own, if those of different colours could have been worn together.

Or the picture found in *The Squire of Low Degree*,^b may be accurately realised:

Then shall ye go to your evensong,
With tenours and trebles among,
Threscore of copes of damask bryght
Full of perles they shalbe pyght.
Your sensours shalbe of golde
Endent with azure manie a folde.

The old order has passed away. The precious ornaments and relics and vestments no longer adorn the treasury of St. Paul's: a very small *armarium* would contain all the vestments, simple and unadorned, that are now in use. The vast congregations in choir, and nave, and aisles, and beneath the vast canopy of the exquisite dome, form a spectacle as grand and impressive as the long procession with its gorgeous array.

^a Foxe, *Acts and Mon.* ii, 976, col. 2, ed. 1596. Cited by Dr. Rock, ii. 48.

^b Ritson, *Metrical Romances*, vol. iii. (Dr. Rock, ii. 46).

NOTE.

Whilst preparing this paper for the press, the writer has very carefully collated the Inventory of 1295, printed in Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's* (edit. 1818, pp. 310-336) with the original manuscript.^a It appears in Dugdale's first edition,^b but the source from which it is derived is not there stated. In the *Monasticon*^c it is said to be taken "Ex cod. MS. penès præf. D. et Cap. (B) fol. 42. b." It is to be found in Liber. I. preserved amongst the archives of the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, where it fills folios 6. b-23. A portion of the same Inventory is to be found in a small quarto volume of twelve leaves, but this transcript ends abruptly at the third article under the heading of *Troperia*.^d

From the former of these two manuscripts Dugdale printed the copy which appears in his first edition of the *History*; and Sir Henry Ellis in his edition of the same work appears to have contented himself with reprinting the Inventory as it stood in the first edition without comparing it with the original. This may fairly be inferred from the fact that there are numerous errors common to the two copies. A minute and careful collation has now been made between the original manuscript and the Inventory as printed in the third edition of Dugdale's *History*, and it may be desirable to place on record some of the more important results of that collation. The copyist who made the transcript for the press was quite indifferent as to the use of numerals or of the Latin words by which the figures are expressed: he writes *duo* where the MS. has *ij*, and even in the same sentence *ij* where the MS. has *duo*. Had he limited himself to such minute variations little criticism need be bestowed upon his labours: but there are omissions and commissions far more important. A few of these will now be noted. P. 310, heading,*

For in Thesaura S. read in Thesauria Sauncti.

* I gladly acknowledge the valuable aid which I have received in this collation from my younger son, C. Sparrow Simpson, Trin. Coll. Camb.

^b Folio, London, 1658. The writer is so fortunate as to possess Sir Christopher Wren's own copy with his autograph signature.

^c *Monastici Anglicani volumen tertium et ultimum*. Savoy. 1673.

^d The present press-mark of Liber I. is W.D. 16; that of the small quarto MS. is W.D. 3.

^e The references are to Dugdale, *History of St. Paul's*, edit. Sir H. Ellis.

P. 310, col. 2, l. 8 *from bottom*,

Read Morsus Radulfi de Douniouꝝ argenteus exterius deauratus cum lapillis insitis in limbo et quodam castro continente duas ymagines ponderis xxij.^a

P. 311, col. 1, l. 25. *Here insert*

Item duo candelabra cristallina parvula cum apparatu partim argenteo de dono Thome de Esshewy

P. 311, col. 1, l. 7 *from bottom*,

For turribus *read* turril' ; *with which compare* thurellis *in the following entry.*

P. 311, col. 2, l. 2,

For Episcopi *read* cujusdam Episcopi.

P. 312, col. 1, l. 9 *from bottom*,

For Angeli evenientis *read* Angeli ejicientis.

P. 313, col. 2, l. 28,

Read Lucae . . . ornatus in anteriori parte continente ymaginem Majestatis et quatuor Evangelistas de opere plano nigellato.

P. 314, col. 2, *after* l. 8 *insert* .

Item Brachium Sancti Melliti magnum ornatum platis et sexdecem cristallis et antierius continet circulum triphoriatum et deauratum, qui continet unum lapidem sculptum et quatuor alios majores et vj minores, et deficiunt quinque.

P. 317, col. 1, l. 19, *read*

Item capa Magistri Ricardi Ruffi de rubeo sameto breudato sagittariis et griffonibus.

Item iiij capae quae fuerunt Radulphi de Diceto de rubeo sameto cum rotundis pectoralibus aurifrigiis.

P. 317, col. 1, l. 31,

For Regis Henrici *read* Regis Henrici Regis tertii.

P. 318, col. 2, l. 32, *insert after* pro anima

ejusdem Reginae cum scutis Regum Angliae et Hispaniae. Item duae capae factae de ij baudekynis datae pro anima Willielmi Passemere (&c. *as in text*)

P. 321, col. 2, l. 4, *add*

. . ad mortuos vetus et suspensum ; assignatur ad reparanda alia.

P. 321, col. 2, l. 8, *add*

. . consimili : Thomas de Coulyng habet ; modo deficit.

P. 322, col. 1, l. 3, *add*

. . bene adalbata aurifrigio facta de capa. P. Blēs.^a Item tunica de purpureo sameto bene adalbata quae fuit Magistri (&c. *as in text*)

^a That is, Petrus Blesensis, Peter of Blois, archdeacon of London in 1192.

P. 323, col. 2, l. 5,

For Bradlyng read Braghyngs.

P. 323, col. 2, l. 7,

Read liberatur ad altare Sancti Johannis Evangelistae,

P. 324, col. 1, l. 23 *from bottom,*

Read London sicut Rubrica testatur.

P. 324, col. 1, l. 20 *from bottom,*

. . nomine. In primo incipit folio, *Domino sancto*, est de Romana translatione.

P. 326, col. 2, l. 13,

Item Gradale unum bonum, incipit a rubrica . . .

P. 326, col. 2, l. 20 *from bottom,*

Ortum prodest, in penultimo folio.

P. 326, col. 2, l. 17 *from bottom,*

in antepenultimo folio.

P. 326, col. 2, l. 11 *from bottom,*

Omit Organ, and in next line but one read . . . Liber Organorum perpulcherrimum . . .

P. 327, col. 2, l. 15,

For S. Vitha read Sancta Ositha.

P. 328, col. 2, l. 10,

. . scribitur in custodia prima . .

P. 328, col. 2, l. 5 *from bottom,*

. . de dono F. Lovell.* Consumitur similis.

P. 329, col. 1, l. 2,

. . Edmundi fratris Regis E.

P. 329, col. 2, l. 7,

. . Passemer. de hiis duobus pannis factae sunt duae capae.

In the margin of articles 5 to 9 is written assignantur ad capas.

P. 329, col. 2, l. 20

. . junioris. de hiis pannis factae sunt xj capae.

P. 330, col. 2, l. 2,

For Petri gestantibus read Petri gestantis.

* That is, Fulk Lovell (not C. Lovell, as in Dugdale's text), archdeacon of Colchester, who was elected bishop of London on the death of bishop Chishull in 1279-80, but declined to be consecrated.

P. 332, col. 1, l. 14 *from bottom*,

. . non regulata. Et deficit secundum vestimentum restituendum, ut dicitur, per Alexandrum le Porter.

P. 332, col. 2, l. 12 *from bottom*,^a

. . marcae, quas dictus Robertus de Dodyngton percipit per manus Decani qui pro tempore fuerit.

P. 333, col. 2, l. 12 *from bottom*,

For oblationes read oblatas.

P. 334, col. 2, l. 10 *from bottom*,

For Fauconbridge read Faucumberge.

P. 336. At the end of this page might well have been added the following entry in the original manuscript,^a which runs on consecutively with what has preceded it. S. Gregory's church touched the cathedral church, its north side abutting against the south aisle of the nave of St. Paul's.

Inventarium Ornamentorum in ecclesia beati Gregorii in atrio Sancti Pauli die Jovis proximo post festum purificationis beatae Virginis anno domini millesimo cc° nonagesimo octavo.

j. calix argenteus cum patena intus deauratus et in parte extra ponderis x sol.

Item j. cuppa de cupro deauratus in qua ponitur eukaristia in bursa de serico serata.

Item j. crismatorium cum distinctis subseparalibus.

Item ij. phialae stagneae. Item j. pelvis cuprea de amal et j. pixis lignea ad oblatas.

Item j. thurribulum de cupro sufficiens et j. lucerna et ij. sconsa.

Item j. crux lingnea cum ymaginibus beatae Virginis et Sancti Johannis.

Item duae cruces de cupro de opere limocensi cum uno baculo lingneo.

Item iij. osculatoria et ij. candelabra stangnea vetera et debilia.

Item j. vasculum stagneum ad aquam benedictam de dono Galfridi de Criptis Rectoris.

Item iij. pallae benedictae quarum duae cum paruris et j. manutergium ad sacrarium.

^a Many paragraphs are omitted which give an account of the properties with which the various chantries are endowed; but as these appear to be omitted upon a definite plan, very capriciously applied however, they are not inserted here.

- Item duo frontalia ad majus altare de pal vetusto.
- Item unum vestimentum principale cum paruris de pal et amictis cum paruris breudatis cum avibus et leonibus in rotellis cum stola et manipula de pal et casula de rubea sameto aurifrig.
- Item aliud vestimentum dominicale cum casula et parura et stola et manipula de pal.
- Item una alba cum paruris de pal et amictus cum paruris de pal cum stola et manipula de filo contexta.
- Item ij corporalia in duabus capsis de pal. Item tunica et dalmatica de pal.
- Item unum missale vetus de veteri nota. Item manuale bonum et plenare.
- Item unum antiphonarium cum psalterio capitulario collectario et ympnario plenare notatum.
- Item aliud antiphonarium cum psalterio veteri. Item ij. legendae distinctae et temporale et commune Sanctorum.
- Item j. graduale bonum cum tropario bene notatum. Item aliud graduale cum troperio veteri.
- Item ij. cistae cum seruris. Item ij tintinabula ad elevationem corporis Christi.
- Item lectrina et sedilia sufficientia in Cancelllo.

APPENDIX.

*Descriptio vasorum aureorum et argenteorum, Librorum, Caparum, Tunicarum, Dalmaticarum, vestimentorum, Pannorum de serico Thesaurariae ecclesiae Sancti Pauli London', facta in crastino sancti Bartholomaei Apostoli, anno gratiae M^oCC^oxl. Quinto, per Henricum de Cornhille, Decanum; Tunc ibi presentibus Alexandro Thesaurario, Magistro Roberto de Barton, Johanne de Bulemere, Canonicis.**
Et primo De vasis aureis et argenteis.

Calix de auro qui fuit ut dicitur Alardi Decani,^b ponderat cum patena xxxv. sol. x.d. In patena sculpta est ymago Majestatis, et in pede calicis apponuntur amatistae.

* Henry de Cornhill, dean, 1243-54; Alexander, probably Swerford, he died in 1246; Robert de Barton, prebendary of Willesdon, precentor 1246, dean 1256-9; J. de Bulemere, prebendary of Harleston.

^b Alard de Burnham succeeded Ralph de Diceto as dean. He died in 1216.

Calix de auro, qui fuit ut dicitur Roberti de Clifford,^a ponderat cum patena xxv. sol. iiij. d. Planus est undique, et sine opere trifuriali. In patena manus Domini benedicens est insculpta.

Calix tercius de auro ponderat cum patena xlij. sol. & j. d. In patena sculpta est manus benedicens, campo undique circa manum minutis stellis stellato.

Calix de auro, quem dedit Willelmus de Briwera,^b ponderat cum patena lxxvj. sol. viij. d. Planus est undique, et sine opere trifario. In ejus pede incisis litteris scribitur nomen donatoris. In patena sculpitur manus benedicens, ex uno latere stella, ex altero luna.

Calix argenti deauratus, qui fuit ut dicitur Magistri Roberti Capellani, ponderat cum patena lij. sol. ix. d. In cujus pede levantur opere levato flores glageoli.^c In patena sculpitur ymago Trinitatis integra. In uno latere capitis stella, in altero luna.

Calix argenti deauratus, qui dicitur fuisse Magistri Henrici de Norhamton',^d ponderat cum patena l. sol. Pes ejus florigeratur quadam gravatura. In patena sculpitur ymago Trinitatis integra sedens super archum.

Calix argenteus intus et extra deauratus, planus undique, et sine omni gravatura vel sculptura in patena, ponderat cum patena xxvij s. ij. d.

Calix bene deauratus interius et exterius, in cujus pede et nodo sunt gravaturae, et in patena in limbis florata sculpitur ymago super archum sedens, ponderat cum patena xxvj. sol. viij. d.

Calix argenteus parvus deauratus intus et extra undique planus, in cujus F. 6, col. 1. patena sculpitur manus benedicens, ponderat cum patena xvij. sol.

Calix argenti interius deauratus et exterius albus, nodo deaurato et virgulado, in cujus patena sculpitur manus benedicens exiens a nube cum duabus stellis et una lunula, ponderat cum patena xv. s. & vj. d.

Calix argenti qui fuit Prioris de Achon,^e subito mortui in prebenda de Holeburn', planus, et totus undique deauratus, in cujus patena sculpitur manus benedicens cum stella et lunula collateralibus, ponderat xx. sol.

^a Robert de Clifford, prebendary of Portpoole in 1192.

^b In 1336, one Gilbert de Bruera became dean; probably a member of the same family.

^c Gladiolus: Carex vel Carectum. Anglis, Sedge. Ducange.

^d Henry de Northampton was prebendary of Kentish Town in 1181.

^e For documents relating to the hospital of St. Thomas of Acon, London, see Dugdale *Monasticon*, vi. 645-8.

Calix magnus et undique deauratus quo deserviebatur in altari Sanctae Radegundae, ponderabat liij. sol. vj. d. Furatus fuit ibidem, et de bonis habentis illud altare inventis fuit emptus calix ponderis xx. sol. iiij. d., in cujus pede sculptuntur scalopae Sancti Jacobi et in patena Agnus Dei. Liberatur ad illud altare serviendum.

Calix Graecus sine patena et de Graeco trifurio, ponderat cum calamo vj. li.

Calix argenteus undique deauratus, quem dedit Ricardus vicarius de Bello Campo; planus est undique; habet patenam deauratam tenuem cum Agno Dei insculptam; ponderat xx. s. v. d.

Calix planus deauratus undique, et nodo plano, cum manu benedictis in patena, ponderat xxv. solid. d. [*sic*].

Calix auri, qui fuit H. de Wyngam, episcopi,^a ponderat xlvij. sol. & iiij. d., ornatus est cum aymalo^b et cum margaritis in pomello.

De Phialis argenteis.

Phialae duae argenteae albae ponderant xv. s. vj. d., quarum una habet circulum deauratum in medio vineatum.

Phialae duae, quae fuerunt Roberti de Clifford^c, ponderant xij. sol. & iiij. d., quarum una est tota deaurata et veteris operis sculpta ymaginibus, alia [*sic*].

Phialae duae Alardi Decani ponderant xix. sol. vj. d., quarum una est tota deaurata, altera alba.

Phialae quatuor novae et de novo factae per W. Heremitam^e de quibusdam aliis veteribus, quae consueverunt computari in compotis precedentibus; albae sunt, et sine cooperculis; ponderant xxvj. s. ij. d.

Phiala una, sine pari, vetus et confracta, ponderat vj. s.

Phialae duae quae fuerunt Eustachii Episcopi,^d quarum una alba, altera tota deaurata; ponderabant viij. s.; traditae fuerunt Willelmo Capellano, et furatae, unde non computantur in Thesauraria.

Phialae duae Willielmi Episcopi,^e quarum una est deaurata, tota altera alba; ponderant xj. solid. viij. d.

^a Henry de Wyngam, chancellor of England, bishop of London 1259-60 to 1262. I am unable to explain the fact of his being styled Bishop in this document.

^b Aymalo, enamel.

^c William the Hermit, or Eremita, was prebendary of Portpoole in 1226 and 1267. Le Neve.

^d Eustace de Fauconberge, treasurer of the Exchequer, bishop of London, 1221-8.

^e Probably William of St. Mary's church, successively dean of St. Martin's, dean of St. Paul's, and bishop of London 1199-1221.

De Thuribulis et Pomis argenteis, Naviculis, Ampullis ad Oleum et Crisma.

Thuribulum magnum album argenteum angelis levatis insculptum, cum scutella aeris imposita, ponderat c. solid.

Thuribulum aliud magnum argenteum et album consimile alteri in opere et forma, ponderat cum scutella sua iiij. lb. xij. s. & iiij. d.

Thuribulum quod dicitur O. de Camera,^a album, sed in limbis deauratum cum casitis desuper deauratis, ponderat per se sine scutella xxxviiij. sol.

Thuribulum, cujus coopertorium angelis sculpitur album, ponderat cum scutella aeris iiij^{or} mar.' iij. sol. iiij. d.

Thuribulum parvum deauratum totum, quod fuit Radulfi de Sancto Benedicto ponderat sine scutella xxiiij. s.

Thuribulum deauratum cum coopertorio trifuriato opere, ponderat liij. solid. iiij. d. cum scutella cupri.

Thuribulum Eustachii episcopi, ponderat xxvj. sol. viij. d. Rogerus Episcopus habuit. Modo. F. Episcopo.^b [Modo Philippus frater suus.]^c

Navicula^d alba argentea in limbis deaurata ad thus, ponderat xxx. š. & xij. d.

Navicula alia, quae fuit Eustachii Episcopi, cum cocleari, ponderat viij. sol.

Discus argenteus, ad modum salsarii, deputatus ad thus, ponderat cum cocleari x. s. & vj. d.

Pomum, quod fuit Johannis de Sancto Laurentio, argenteum et album, cum scutella, ponderat xij. sol. & x. d.

Pomum, quod fuit Eustachii episcopi, argenteum deauratum cum botris^e rotundis fabricatum bestiis in eisdem sculptis, ponderat cum scutella xvj. sol. viij. d.

Ampullae ad oleum et crisma tres de argento, nondum ponderatae.

Ampullae aliae duae argenteae ad oleum portatiles et mediocres, cum cathenulis argenteis, ponderat xxvj. sol. ix. d.

^a Osbert de Camera, canon in 1192. Newcourt.

^b The bishops named are Eustace de Fauconberge, Roger le Noir (Roger Niger), and Fulke Basset.

^c The words between brackets are added by another hand.

^d An incense boat.

^e Botrus, a bunch of grapes.

- * Thuribulum magnum, de dono Henrici Capellani, ponderat c. sol.
- * Turribulum Episcopi H. de Wyngam^a totum deauratum ponderat c. ij. sol.
- * Pomum Domini F. episcopi,^b insculptum mensibus anni deauratis, ponderat xij. sol.

F. 6. col. 2.

Crismatorium Gilberti episcopi^c interius ligneum est coopertum exterius foliis argenteis cum ymaginibus elevatis.

Crismatorium Eustachii episcopi^d argenteum ponderat xvij. sol. Episcopus F. habet.^e

De Candelabris.

Candelabra duo portabilia argentea antiqua, pedibus draconibus insculptis triforiatis, ponderant vij. lb.

Candelabra duo, quæ fuerunt Magistri R. de Storteford,^f opere triforia, operata sunt cum hominibus leones equitantibus; ponderant iiij. lb. xiiij. s. iiij. d.

Candelabra duo curtioria argentea undique neelata^g cum pedibus planis cupro pedibus inclavato ad efforciandum, ponderant cum cupro c. s. Hiis deservitur ad altare majus a pueris.

Candelabrum unum cuprinum particulariter argento coopertum.

Pixis argentea cocleareata ad Eucharistiam, aliquando suspensa ultra majus altare, ponderant ij. mar. & v. d. cum nodis neelatis. Et alia quædam argentea ponderat xxxvij. s. ij. d.

Pecten argenteus^h in medio deauratus cum gravatura dentibus albis, ponderat ix. s.

Cuppa argentea deaurata undique, quam dedit Rex Henricusⁱ ad eucharistiam, cum leonibus et leopardis, nodo et pomello bene operato, cum cathena argentea, ponderat c. iiij. sol. & x. d.; [et tertia argentea cum literis in coopertorio, ponderat xiiij. s.]^j

* These entries are made by another hand at the foot of a column.

^a Henry de Wingham, *ut supra*.

^b Fulke Bassett, *ut supra*.

^c Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, 1163-1167, 8. ^d Eustace de Fauconberge. ^e Fulke Bassett.

^f Richard de Stortford appears as chancellor of St. Paul's in 1184. He held the prebend of Harleston.

^g Neelata, ornamented with niello.

^h Inter ministeria sacra recensetur quo scilicet Sacerdotes ac Clerici antequam in Ecclesiam procederent, crines pecterent. Ducange.

ⁱ Perhaps Henry III., who was in the 29th year of his reign when this Inventory was taken.

^j The words within brackets are added by another hand.

Vas ad aquam benedictam cum ansa est argenteum totum opere Graeco fabricatum cum ymaginibus et litteris designantibus sculpturam; ponderat viij. mar. iiij. s.; ut dicitur, de dono Ricardi Episcopi.^a

* Parvum vas argenteum ad sal benedicendum, ponderat v. s.

De Bacinis argenteis.

Bacini duo albi et magni circulo fundi deaurato draconibus et leonibus connexis insculptis, ponderant vij. mar. & iiij. s. iiij. d.

Bacini duo albi similiter cum argento appposito de novo facti, ponderant xlij. s. vj. d.; et in fundo insculpuntur ymagines beati Petri et Pauli.

Bacini J. de Sancto Laurentio^b albi et mediocres, ponderant lij. s.; in quorum uno sculpirur homo tenens librum in manu; in alio homo pugnans cum leone.

Bacini duo albi cum limbis deauratis, fundis gravatis et deauratis, quos dedit Cycestrensis Episcopus, ponderant lxxvij. s.

* Bacini ij^o A. Tesararii^c cum p. et p. ponderant lvj. s. viij. d.

* Bacini ii^o episcopi F.,^d intus deaurati in modum crucis, ponderant iiij. libras iiij. s. iiij. d.

De Feretris, Brachiis, Philateriis, et Thecis, argenteis et eburneis.*

Feretrum beati Erkenwaldi^f est interius ligneum extra coopertum platis argenteis cum ymaginibus et lapidibus. Est autem summa lapidum, ut dicitur, o. et xxx. Postmodum inclavavit in eo G. Decanus^g anulum aureum cum saphyro.^h Ad duo capita feretri ejusdem apponuntur duo angeli argentei cum brochis ferreis; ponderant lx. solid.

^a Three bishops of London had already borne this Christian name, R. de Belmeis I., R. de Belmeis, II., and Richard de Ely surnamed FitzNeale. It may be inferred from the *ut dicitur* that the earliest of these is intended.

* These entries are inserted by another hand.

^b John de S. Laurentio was prebendary of St. Pancras in 1192.

^c Alexander Swerford, treasurer of St. Paul's.

^d Fulke Bassett, bishop of London.

^e Filacterium, theca minor sacrarum reliquiarum, quæ ad collum Filacteriis seu vittis appensa in processionibus portabatur. Ducange.

^f The great shrine of St. Erkenwald "stood on the east side of the wall above the high altar." Dugdale, 15. The shrine here mentioned may have been one of smaller dimensions.

^g Perhaps Geoffrey de Lucy, dean, who died in 1241.

^h A more famous sapphire of great virtue for healing of infirmities of the eyes was presented to the shrine in 15 Rich. II., by Richard de Preston, citizen and grocer.

Feretrum quod dicitur Sancti Melliti^a totum ligneum, fronte solum cooperto platis argenteis et ymaginibus, cui imponitur angelus de cupro totus deauratus, et haec duo sunt collateralia in magno altari.

Feretrum supra magnum altare ligneum est et vetus, et coopertum albo argento undique, in quo sunt diversae reliquae collectae ex diversis collectionibus.

Feretrum Sancti Laurentii portatile est et ligneum, coopertum undique platis argenteis bene deauratis cum ymaginibus levati operis, cujus pomelli sunt ad modum pomorum pinei superius florigerati. In eo continetur feretrum totum cristallinum bene preparatum cresta argentea et angularibus argenteis bene deauratis, inpositis lapidibus preciosis sculptis; in quo reponuntur duae costae Sancti Laurentii; quod quidem feretrum comparavit C. de Wesham pro l. mar.

Feretrum Ricardi Episcopi tercii^b ligneum est et coopertum platis argenteis bene deauratis, et addubbatum^c lapidibus contrafactis ad similitudinem carbuncolorum et saphyrorum; et dicitur feretrum Beatae Virginis propter capillos ejusdem in eo repositos. In eodem reponitur parvissima capsula auri, in qua reponitur dens Sancti Vincentii. Est autem capsula longitudinis pollicis et dimidii.

Feretrum Sancti Ethelberti^d ligneum totum platis argenteis coopertum cum lapidibus preciosis, capsulis, lapidibus deauratis; dicitur habere c. et xxx. lapides.

Feretrum Willielmi Episcopi totum est argenteum massicum sine ligno,^e exterius bene deauratum cum ymaginibus bene levatis; perpulchrum est.

Cofri duo eburnei magni et lati stantes supra magni altare, in quibus reponuntur reliquiae cum parvulis thecis in illis contentis.

Cofrum nigrum, quod dicitur fuisse Gilberti episcopi, in quo similiter reponuntur reliquiae.

F. 6. b. col. 1.

Brachium Sancti Oswaldi coopertum foliis argenteis, praeter manum.

Brachium Sancti Melliti coopertum similiter foliis argenteis.

^a Mellitas, the companion of St. Augustine and first bishop of London.

^b Ricardi Episcopi tercii. Richard de Ely, surnamed FitzNeale, bishop of London 1189-1198.

^c Addubbatum: a very favourite word with this scribe. Cf. addoubed, armed or accoutred. Adouber, old French. See Nares, who quotes an illustrative passage from Sidney's *Arcadia*. See also Halliwell.

^d King Ethelbert was a great benefactor to the cathedral church. He gave to it the manor of Tillingham, which is still in the hands of the dean and chapter.

^e Bishop William, the king's chaplain was consecrated in 1051; was present at the Council of London in 1075; and, dying shortly afterwards, was buried in the cathedral church. Probably he is the bishop whose shrine is here described.

Brachium Sanctae Osithae, cujus manus tenet caput virginis, consimiliter foliis argenteis coopertum.

Item brachium Sancti Melliti parvum, quod dedit Eustachius episcopus, consimiliter argento coopertum. In quo reposuit os de brachio Sancti Melliti, quod ei dederunt Monachi Sancti Augustini.

Pixis eburnea aliquantulum magna, in qua reponitur os digiti Sancti Oswaldi, et alia parvula, in qua nichil reponitur.

Cruces duae cristallinae, quarum una ponitur aliquando super feretrum Sancti Erkenwaldi, alia in quodam armariolo.

Auricularium^a Sanctae Edithae.

Potentia^b Beati Thomae Martiris,^c et pecten, quæ habentur pro reliquiis.

Crux gracilis, quae appellatur crux magistri Henrici de Northampton^d plana est, cum yconia tota deaurata. In cujus patibulo superiori est enichmus^d in quo sculpitur ymago hominis. In patibulo inferiori lapis in quo sculpitur cervus, ad duo brachia duo amatistae; pes firmatus cruci ad modum pedis cyphi, cum pomello circulato lapidibus.

Crux major lignea platis argenteis cooperta ante et retro deauratis cum yconia. In cujus patibulo superiori est manus benedictis exiens a nube, subtus Adam surgens a sepulchro,^e lapidibus contrafactis ornata, videlicet, thurchesiis^f et corneliniis. Parva crux pendet ibi ad longitudinem pollicis et dimidii, quasi suspensibilis ad collum hominis.

Cruces duae portatiles ad processionem lignae, cum yconiis coopertae lamini-bus argenteis ante et retro, et cum pomellis deauratis.

Item crux argentea deaurata undique in qua reponuntur reliquiae crucis, et ornatur lapidibus minutis, et v. grossioribus, per iiiij^{or} partes crucis, et alamandina^g in medio.

^a Auriculare: Gall. *Oreiller*, pulvinar. Ducange.

^b Potentia: scipio, fulcrum subalare, nostris vulgo *Potence*. Ducange. A staff, or crutch, T-shaped.

^c St. Thomas à Becket.

^d Enichmus: see note on page 86.

^e Adam. In an old legend Adam is buried on the precise spot on which the Cross was erected, and the blood of the Crucified falling upon Adam's tomb calls him back to life. In a fourteenth century miniature, figured by Mrs. Jameson, *History of our Lord*, ii. 207-8 (from *Arundel MS.* 83, Brit. Mus.), Adam rises from his tomb at the foot of the cross, and holds a chalice to catch the sacred blood.

^f Turquoises: see note on page 86.

^g Alamandinae, Alabandinae, or Alavandinae . . . gemmae ex Alabanda, Cariae urbo. Ducange. See also note on page 87.

Memorandum, quod omnia philateria et bursae, in quibus olim dependebant reliquiae, reponuntur in thecis et consignantur.

Sex pectines eburnei, tres spissi et magni, tres tenues et usuales, et quatuor pectines de novo.

De Baculis et Ornamentis Episcopalibus.

Baculus^a Ricardi Episcopi tercii, cujus cambuca^b de argento massitio,^c bene deauratus, cujus revolutio terminatur in angelum. In medio sculpuntur ymages massitiae apostolorum Petri et Pauli. Pomellum bene sculpitur cum floribus consolide minoribus et cum lapidibus amatistis. Baculus fuit per pecias cum circulis deauratis. Modo habet Thomas de Sancto Sepulchro ad apponendum novum lignum integrum.

Baculus alius ejusdem, cujus cambuca est de cornu, revolutione terminante in caput draconis, a quo exit vinea circuens leonem. Flos totus deauratus, et vinea est de cupro. Pomellum de cupro bene incisum et deauratum, sub quo est quaedam indentura de cornu et de cupro.

Baculus, cujus cambuca tota est de cupro cum pomello bene operato grosso opere leonum et serpentium.

Baculus, cujus cambuca est de cornu veteri, cujus revoculo^d terminatur in capud draconis, a quo exit vinea deaurata spissa et massitia cum ymaginibus hominum. Pomellum de cupro bene incisum.

Baculi duo, quorum cambucæ sunt de ebore, et pomellum.

Baculus stultorum^e est de ebore et sine cambuca, cum pomello de ebore subtus indentatus ebore et cornu.

^a [Hic Ba]culus acomo[dav]it abba[tissa] Romesseye [et te]net eum. Sed . . . Radulfus de . . . ho promisit . . . de verum . . . ur. Et in . . . lo. This note is by a later hand.

^b Cambuca, or cambuta: baculus incurvatus, virga pastoralis Episcoporum. Ducange.

^c Massitio: probably the same as macissus, solidus. *Ib.*

^d Revoculo: probably an error for *revolutio*.

^e Baculus Stultorum:

An important article on the Episcopus Stultorum will be found in Ducange (Honschel's edition) under the word *Kalendae*. "Festum Hypodiaconorum, quod vocamus Stultorum, a quibusdam perficitur in Circumcisione, a quibusdam vero in Epiphania vel in ejus octavis. Fiunt autem quatuor tripudia post Nativitatem Domini in Ecclesia, Levitarum scilicet, Sacerdotum, Puerorum, id est, minorum aetate et ordine, et Hypodiaconorum, qui ordo incertus est." For centuries the disreputable rites of the feast, in which the holiest offices and orders were made matters of the lightest

Baculus cantoris ^a est totus de peciis eborneis, cum circulis argenteis deauratis, et cum pomello argenteo deaurato, et ornato cum lapidibus. Podium est de cristallo cum lapidibus.^b

Baculus Episcopi Willelmi totus de argento cum nodo concavo cum ymaginibus apostolorum in cambuca, ymaginibus Petri et Pauli ex altera parte, ymagine Beate Virginis, genu flectente episcopo. Episcopus F. habet.

Mitra de alba purpura breudata stellis et lunulis ante et retro. In stellis utrinque sunt topatii et almandine. In circulo inferiori sunt quasi bisantii triphuriati cum lapidibus peridotis,^c et similiter thau cum lapidibus.

Mitra alia nova alba addubbata aurifrigio, plana est; quam dedit J. Belemains^d episcopo innocentum.^e

Mitra Eustachii episcopi bene addubbata, accomodata Episcopo F.; et est de perulis et margaritis albis.^f

jesting, found favour with all sorts and conditions of men; and it was not abolished until after long and strenuous efforts had been made for its suppression.

In the Abbé Migne's *Dictionnaire des Mystères* (Fête des Fous), an account is given of the establishment of a sort of Fête des Fous at St. Sophia by "Théophylacte fils de l'empereur, nommé patriarche de Sainte-Sophie à peine encore âgé de seize ans:—

"C'est à ce patriarche, dit Cédrenus, que remonte l'usage qui a duré jusqu'à nos jours, de substituer dans les plus grandes fêtes et les plus solennelles, consacrées soit à Dieu, soit aux saints, l'outrage de chansons indécentes, de rires et de cris insensés, aux hymnes sacrées que nous devons offrir à Dieu pour notre salut. Ce pontife rassemblant une troupe de débauchés et mettant Euthymius à leur tête, fit de cet homme le gardien du temple, et institua, par son enterprise, des danses diaboliques, des cris infernaux et des chansons ramassées dans les carrefours."

Some remains of this rite lingered till 1606 in the diocese of Viviers, where there was actually a law-suit between the Fools and their Bishop, because the latter declined to carry out the fête. The official before whom the cause was heard decided in favour of the Fools.

Ducange does not hesitate to say that the feast was called Festum Hypodiaconorum, not because sub-deacons only took part in it, but rather that this was a jocular designation. "*Soudiacres*, id est, ad literam, *saturi Diaconi*, quasi *Diacres saouls*."

^a The precentor's staff. A fine example of such a staff of the fourteenth century is figured in Dr. Lee's *Glossary of Liturgical and Ecclesiastical Terms*.

^b . . . d's Dungun (?) [accomo]davit alium . . . abbatisse [de Ca]damo nec . . . tuit. This note is by a later hand.

^c Peridot or peritot, Gemma viridi coloris smaragdo durior sed minoris pretii. At the moment of his martyrdom, Thomas à Becket was wearing a ring set with a peridot. Ducange. See also note on page 87.

^d John de Belemains held the prebendal stall of Chiswick in 1225.

^e The boy bishop.

^f Perulis et margaritis: small pearls and large.

Mitra episcopi innocentum, nullius precii.

Mitra alba cum aurifrigio vineato et floribus lapparum.^a

Sandalia et caligae de rubeo samito satis bono et novo, cujus caligae sunt breudatae circulis interius continentes aquilas et dracones interius forratae croceali viridi sendato. Sandalia sunt breudata aliis floribus furrata indico sendato cum semellis^b de coreo.

Sandalia alia de indico samito, cujus caligae sunt breudatae scalopis Sancti Jacobi et leonibus, furratae rubeo sendato, et ornatae aurifrigio. Sotulares^c breudatae sine semellis^d floribus sine semellis.

F. 6b. col. 2.

Sandalia, duo sine caligis furrata rubeo sendato, et breudata lunulis et vineis.

Quatuor paria cyrotecarum antiquarum addubbata circulis deauratis.

Nota.

Supra continentur Calices aurei et argentei cum patenis, Phialae argenteae, Thuribula argentea, Poma, Naviculae, Ampullae argenteae, Crismatoria, Candelebra, Bacini argentei, Feretra, Brachia, Philateria, Thecae argenteae et eburneae, Cofri, Cruces, Pectines, Baculi, et Ornamenta Episcopalia. [Sed alia postmodum inventa de consimilibus scribuntur in ultimo folio.^e]

De Cathedris et Pulvinaribus.^f

Quatuor cathedrae lignae depictae, quinta ferrea, quae est apud Sanctam Radegundam.^g

Duae ferreae de dono G. de Lucy,^h Decani, et una lignea, quae fuit episcopi Rogeri.ⁱ

Item, una ferrea deargentata cum capitibus humanis et deauratis, quam episcopus F. habet.

Pulvinar ad textum portandum de opere sartacinito aliquantulum vetus in quo scribuntur Willelmus et Albreda.

Pulvinar novum, totum consutum nodis de serico, quod fuit Mauricii de Herlawe.^k

^a Lappa: cardui species, a thistle. Ducange.

^b Semella, the sole. Fr. *Semelle*.

^c Sotulares, subtalares, shoes, Fr. *Souliers*.

^d The dotted words were intended to be omitted.

^e The words within brackets are added by another hand. ^f Pulvinar, a cushion or pillow.

^g That is, in the chapel of St. Radegund.

^h Geoffrey de Lucy, dean of St. Paul's, died 1241.

ⁱ Roger Niger, bishop.

^k Maurice de Herlawe, or Herla, prebendary of Twyford in 1218. His obit was observed on August 17.

Quatuor pulvinaria cooperta panno serico satis adhuc utilia.

Pulvinar unum de sendato exterius coopertum panno lineo perforato.

Tria alia uno et eodem pallio cooperta, inveterata, et necessario emendanda.

Duo meliora confracta et similiter emendanda.

Pulvinar magnum de samito rubeo, quod fuit beati Hugonis, satis novum.

Duo alia inveterata ad ponendum super sedilia, cooperta veteri panno de serico; unum coopertum panno Katalonico.

Item unum pulvinar de dono G. de Lucy, Decani, sed coopertum panno serico, quem dedit Lodowicus.

Item aliud quondam Rogeri Episcopi, cum aquilis expansis.

De Capis sericis magis preciosis.

Capa, quae dicitur Alardi Decani,^a est de purpureo samito, breudata rosis, stellis, et gladeolis, et lunulis, cum tassellis, in quibus breudentur Sanctus Petrus et Sanctus Paulus. Ad hanc capam pertinet morsus auri, ut dicitur inferius.

Capa ejusdem alia de rubeo samito, plano, sine tassellis, addubbata plano aurifrigio.

Capa, quæ dicitur Ricardi Episcopi,^b est de purpureo samito, satis nova, leopardis et floribus internodatis breudata. Haec habet morsum argenteum cum ymaginibus Petri et Pauli massitiis, cum quatuor angelis ad quatuor angulos.

Capa Magistri Ricardi de Storteford^c est de nigro samito, breudata vineis, griffonibus, et volucris, cum tassellis breudatis floribus auri puri.

Capa ejusdem altera de rubeo samito plana, addubbata de aurifrigio de auro puro.

Capa Willelmi Episcopi de viridi samito peroptimo, breudata ymaginibus Beatae Virginis anterior, et angelis cum thuribulis, et sagittariis. Habet morsum, ut dicitur inferius.

Capa P. archidiaconi^d est de purpureo epatico plano caputio consuto margaritis, in quo nomen scribitur archidiaconi. Haec habet morsum argenteum triphuriatum cum lapidibus preciosis, in cujus medio est cornelinus sculptus capite connexo. Habet etiam cristam argenteam deauratam cum saphiris ingravatis.

^a Alard de Burnham, *ut supra*.

^b The obit of Richard de Ely, or FitzNeale, was observed in the cathedral church on April 4. It is probable that he is the bishop of the text; 1189-1198.

^c Richard de Stortford, prebendary of Harleston, chancellor in 1184. He died in or about 1215.

^d Probably Peter de Newport, archdeacon of London.

Capa quae dicitur G. Decani, purpurea, cum prophetis et lutiis et vineis bene breudata. Habet morsum, ut dicitur inferius.

Capa G. de Weseham^a de rubeo samito, bene breudata Jesse et stirpe per totum, et Apostolis in anteriori parte, et Crucifixo, [cum morso affixo.]^b

Capa, quae dicitur Magistri H. de Norhampton',^c est de rubeo samito, breudata scalopis Sancti Jacobi, cum morsu sibi cohaerente argenteo, in quo est lapis qui dicitur Kamacu,^d in quo inciditur capud mulieris.

Capa, quae dicitur Roberti de Clifford^e, est de spisso panno cum tassellis breudatis et morsu cohaerente trifuriato, in quo est lapis qui dicitur Presme.^f

Capa de rubeo samito, breudata cum bisantiis et gladeolis, cum morsu argenteo oblongo deaurato, duabus suagiis concavis non deauratis collateralibus.

Capa, quae dicitur [sic] de purpura plana, breudata cum angelis portantibus thuribula et prophetis, cum morsu argenteo connexo oblongo deaurato; in cujus medio est saphyrus contrafactus; dicitur fuisse Willelmi de Norhall',^g Episcopi.

Capa, quae fuit R. Juvenis, consimilis est per omnia precedenti, sed cum morsu latiori; in cujus medio ponitur thopazius.

Capa Ricardi de Windlesor'^h vetus consimilis est precedenti, sed juxta auri frigium scripturae sub mento manus cum clavibus breudantur.ⁱ

Capa ejusdem alia est de rubeo samito plana, cum tassellis quadratis et latis; in quorum uno breudatur castrum de Windlesor'; in alio Ricardus legens evangelium super aquilam ante episcopum.

Capa quae dicitur magistri Rogeri capellani^k est de albo samito in anterioribus limbis angelis breudatis cum thuribulis. Pulverizatur tota bisantiis breudatis. Habet morsum connexum de plano sine gradibus, in cujus medio est presme contrafacta.

Capa magistri Ricardi Ruffi^l est de rubeo samito, breudata sagittariis, cum tassellis, in quorum uno martirizatur Stephanus, in alio Thomas. Haec habet

F. 7, col. 1.

^a Godfrey de Wesenham, canon in 1243.

^b The words within brackets are added by another hand.

^c Henry de Norhampton.

^d Kamacu: Kamahutus, a sardonyx.

^e Robert de Clifford, prebendary of Portpoole in 1192.

^f Presme: see note on page 87.

^g William de Norhall, bishop of Worcester, held the stall of Neasdon in 1177, when he was archdeacon of Gloucester.

^h Richard de Windesore held the stall of Oxgate in 1192.

ⁱ *Ista po[nitur] in emenda[tionem] aliarum.* This note is by another hand.

^k Roger the chaplain; his obit was observed on November 16.

^l Richard Ruffus, archdeacon of Essex 1142-62; his obit was observed on January 18.

morsum argenteum oblongum, cum duobus gradibus; in cujus crista sunt tres cornelinae sculptae cum Onichinis.

Capa, quae fuit Radulphi Decani,^a est de purpureo samito, cum bono aurifrigio, breudata gladeolis duplicibus foliis anteriis.

Capae *iiij^{or}* ejusdem de rubeo samito, planae, omnes, sed duae cum tassellis breudatis floribus.

Capae *iiij^{or}* ejusdem de pilo nigro; planae sunt, et deputantur ad obsequia mortuorum.

Capa fusca de panno serico breudata cum minutis gladeolis et minutis bisantiis et floribus minutis. Hanc breudare fecit Henricus Cancellarius,^b et postea Decanus.

Capa Willelmi de Ely^c satis nova est, de rubeo samito, breudata leopardis et floribus nodosis et minutis bisantiis. Haec habet morsum, sed non connexum, ut dicetur inferius.

Capa Ricardi de Ely^d est de rubeo samito plano; habet morsum argenteum cum ymagine majestatis massitio in medio collateralibus Petri et Pauli ymaginibus, angelis duas coronas habentibus.

Capa Johannis de Sancto Laurentio^e est de rubeo samito plano antea lapidibus in cassis argenteis sparso modo, Solum caputio amatistis et Kamaetis incavata. Habet morsum incavatum^f non connexum, ut dicetur inferius.

Capa Rogeri de Wigornia^g est de albo diaspero, breudata aquilis expansis, cum lunis et stellis, et habet morsum oblongum; in cujus cristae medio est perla, adjectis duobus topaziis ad duo capita.

Capa Cintii Romani^h est de rubeo samito cum aurifrigio de Venicia, avibus in medio contextis, tota plana. Haec habet morsum non connexum, ut dicetur inferius.

Capa Prioris de Achon, qui subito obiit in praebenda de Holeburn', est de

^a Ralph de Diceto, the historian, became dean in 1181.

^b Henry de Cornhill, chancellor 1217-1241, dean 1243-1254.

^c William de Ely, the king's treasurer, held the stall of Cadington minor in 1192, and died in 1223.

^d Richard de Ely (surnamed FitzNeale), bishop 1189-98.

^e John de Sancto Laurentio, canon 1192-1222. His obit was observed on August 25.

^f The dots are marks of intended omission.

^g Roger de Wygornia, prebendary of Bromesbury in 1192.

^h Cincius, Cinchius, Cynthius Romanus, prebendary of Rugmere. His obit was observed on November 6.

albo diaspero, opere trifario mirabiliter in ipso panno contexto quasi in orbicularibus. Nova est et bona addubbata mediocri aurifrigio.

Capa de rubeo samito, quam dedit magister R. de Wendover,^a nova est; habet morsum oblongum; in cujus medio est Onichinus rotundus, cum crista argentea deaurata, cum thurchesiis et gravatis.^b

Capa Rogeri Episcopi de rubeo samito, bene breudato cum stellis et rosis et lunulis.

Capa de samito croceo, quam dedit P. Wintoniensis Episcopus,^c tota plana est et nova.

De Capis minus preciosis.

Capa,^d quae dicitur archidiaconi Nicholai, est de albo sameto plano, cum tassello pectorali quadrato contexto margaritis albis et viridibus contrafactis^e et filo auri in orbicularibus puro et tracto contexto.

Capa alia ejusdem vetus est de panno serico ut dicitur imperiali cum pavonibus et arboribus contexto.

Capa Roberti de Clifford^f est de imperiali^f cum leonibus sine morsu.

Capa de indico sameto aliquantulum vetus breudata laciatura cum leonibus in orbicularibus cum morsu consimili superiori morsui H. de Norhamton^g; sed ubi fuit Kamacu appositus est modo lapis rubeus dublettus.^h

Capa alia indica tota plana et vetus sine morsu, sed addubbata aurifrigio cum tassellis de filo auro tracto.

Capa quae dicitur Radulfi de Alta Ripa est de sameto rubeo plano cum tassellis purpura breudatis.

Capa quae dicitur Magistri Nicholai est nigra tota plana cum tassellis parvis juxta aperturam sub mento gladeolata magnis gladeolis.

Capae tres quae fuerunt Osberti de Camera, quarum duae sunt de croceo sameto et sine tassellis planae. Tercia de rubeo sameto cum tassellis de purpura breudatis cum angelis.

Capa quae dicitur Alexandri de Sakeville^h est de sameto rubeo plano sine tassellis, sed atachiata est de minutis perlis.

^a Richard de Wendover died in 1252. Prebendary of Neasdon.

^b Convertitur in alios usus. Note by another hand.

^c P. Winton: probably Peter de Rupibus, Sir Pierre des Roches, knight, consecrated at Rome, bishop of Winchester in 1205; he died 1238.

^d Modo inde casula. Added in the margin by a later hand.

^e Contrafactus: fictus, supposititius.

^f Imperiali: see note on page 47.

^h Dublettus: a doublet.

^h Alexander de Sackville, prebendary of Cadington Major, about 1162.

Capa Gilberti Banastr'^a est de viridi sandato veteri addubbata aurifrigio, trifuriato nodis et tassellis trifuriatis cum gladeolis purpureis in limbis aperturæ anterioris capae.

Capa Magistri Othonis multipliciter est breduata, et est de panno serico, in bendis enim sunt rosae, in aliis pisciculi.^b

Capa quæ fuit Braund' est de panno serico purpuræ et flavis virgata sine tassellis; vetus est; parum valet.

Capa quaedam vetus obscura de panno serico breudata floribus gladeolis et lunettis.

Capa etiam alia vetustissima de obscuro panno breudata rosis et lunettis; parum valent.^c

Capa Eustachii Episcopi est de samito albo et plano. Habet morsum argenteum deauratum cum ymagine Beati Pauli solidata in medio et duobus episcopis collateralibus cum iiij^{or} saphiris veris et magnis.

Capa Abbatis de Waleden' prima de diaspero albo cum virgulis croceis gemelatis cum tassellis de purpura. Habet morsum oblongum gradalem per tres ascensus. In cujus cristæ medio est dubletus rubeus ad duo capita duo peridoti.

Alia ejusdem de panno serico rubeo flavo interlaqueato albis virgis; in cujus tassellis rotundis breudentur ymagine Salvatoris et Beatae Mariae.

Tertia ejusdem de panno serico cum albis virgulis tassellis purpureis breudatis ymaginibus Salvatoris, Beatae Mariae, et Evangelistarum.

Quarta ejusdem de panno serico listis^d rubeis croceis purpureis, in quibus F. 7, col. 2.
texuntur aves cum morsu ligneo nullius precii.

Quinta ejusdem virgata gemellis croceis gladiolata in limbis aperturæ.

Capa Abbatis Colecestriae de panno serico rotato cum leonibus croceis in circulis et serpentibus circa circulos.

Capa una nigra de panno trifuriato, plano, cum tassellis de minutis margaritis et uno dubleto rubeo in medio et iiij^{or} amatistis ad iiij^{or} angulos.

Capa facta de panno serico, quam Rex dedit, cujus campus rubeus, cum arboribus albis et avibus.

Capa quam dedit Martinus de Pateshull^e est de viridi sameto, et tota plana.

Capae duae rubae cum bendis transversoriis, et tres capae albae de diaspero albo,

^a Gilbert de Banaster, prebendary of Consumpta per Mare in 1192 and 1215.

^b Note by a later hand: Inde factae parure et frontalia.

^c This last remark seems to apply to the preceding item also.

^d Lista: ora, limbus.

^e Martin de Pateshull, dean of St. Paul's, died in 1229.

quarum una est sine tassellis, aliae duae cum tassalis rubeis confractae sunt, et quasi nullius precii.

Capa quae fuit Vitalis tota nigra subducitur de numero, quia confracta, inter quas computantur iiij^{or} nocturnales cum rosis et leonibus.

Capa etiam Willelmi capellani Decani Radulfi ^a de albo diaspero.

Capa et mantella puerorum ad festum Innocentum, et Stultorum sunt xxviij. debiles et contritae.

Capa vetus de albo baldekino vineata et arborata purpura gracili cum ymaginibus malefactis : fuit R. Archidiaconi Midlese^x.

Capae duae rubeae sine tassellis cum aurifrigio veteri cum gemellis auro interlaqueatis ; inde deservitur ad matutinas.

Capa Eustachii episcopi de rubeo sameto plana cum morsu ligneo contextum margaritis albis et nigris.

Capa de rubeo sameto plana cum tassellis purpureis circulatis interius rotatis margaritis ; fuit Ricardi de Camera. ^b

Duae capae virides de sendato Eustachii episcopi.

Capa Willelmi Joymer de croceo sameto cum regibus in anteriori parte breu-datis.

Item alia capa Joymeri de balkeno rotato purpura cum griffonibus cornutis.

Item quaedam Galfridi Decani de baldekino rubeo cum leonibus, griffonibus, et floribus. ^c

Item capa de Waleden^d de panno de Arista rubeo cum aviculis albis.

Item duae capae de panno de Arista, ^d quarum una facta fuit de panno, quam dedit Eustachius episcopus ; alia de panno episcopi Rogeri, cum trifoliis. Novae sunt : tenent inde choristae.

^a Ralph de Diceto.

^b Richard de Camera, prebendary of Chamberlainswood about 1213.

^c Apud a Note by another hand.

^d Arista, or Aresta. Idem omnino videtur quod *Aras*, operis scilicet Atrebatice. Ducange ; work of Arras. But Dr. Rock, *Textile Fabrics*, observes that " Arras had not won for itself a reputation for its tapestry before the fourteenth century," and contends that the cloth of Areste took its name not from the place where it was woven but from the use to which it was generally put, namely, for hangings about churches. This cloth of Areste was however light enough for tunics.

Morsus Caparum, qui non attachiantur continue ad Capas.

Morsus Alardi Decani de auro puro habet amatistam in medio cristae, saphyrum in sinistro latere, cornelinum in dextro sculptum, praeter alios minutos lapides et grossos.

Morsus Willelmi Episcopi de auro puro cum saphiro in medio cristae et duobus cornelinis sculptis sibi collateralibus, cum saphiris et aliis lapidibus preciosis.

Morsus petri Blesensis^a ex argento deaurato habens Kamacu rubeum in medio et alios lapides, ornatus in circuitu margaritis ad modum aliorum.

Morsus Ricardi Archidiaconi Colecestriae^b argenteus deauratus, habens Majestatem in medio et quatuor ymagines in quadratis.^c

Morsus Eustachii episcopi argenteus deauratus, cum Paulo et duobus collateralibus episcopis, ornatus quatuor saphiris pulchris duobus topaziis et duabus almandinis et aliis lapidibus parvis.

Morsus Johannis de Sancto Laurentio amplus et rotundus argenteus deauratus cum magna almandina in medio et xi. aliis lapidibus magnis per extremitates et aliis minoribus lapidibus interioribus. Crista argentea deaurata et bene operata, ornata lapidibus variis et margaritis.

Morsus Willelmi de Ely argenteus et deauratus cum ymaginibus junctus in tribus frustris lapides apponuntur multi, preciosi et pulchri.

Morsus G. decani argenteus bene deauratus cum ymaginibus vj., ornatus quatuor magnis lapidibus, scilicet, ij. jacintiis et ij. almandinis et aliis minutis lapidibus. Crista ad caputium argentea bene operata trifuriata cum perlis et aliis lapidibus, habens pomellum trifuriatum, cum broca et cathena argentea.

Morsus Cintii Romani argenteus deauratus ad instar lunae semiplenae, cum ymagine Pauli et duobus angelis collateralibus, ornatus preciosis lapidibus per circuitum.

Tres morsus argentei et deaurati, quorum unus cum ymaginibus et parvis lapidibus, non habens lignum interioribus; duo alii habent lignum interioribus, et lapidibus exterioribus ornantur, cum trifuriatis gradatim positis.

^a Peter of Blois, archdeacon of London, and prebendary of Hoxton. See more in *Le Neve*, ii. 318.

^b Perhaps Richard Foliot, who was archdeacon of Colchester between 1163 and 1187.

^c Et crista triphura[ta]? This is written by another hand in the margin, but it is not clear to which paragraph it relates.

Nota.

Supra continentur Cathedrae, Pulvinaria, Capae sericae magis preciosae et minus preciosae divisim scriptae. Et Morsus Caparum, qui non attachiantur continue.*

De Casulis.

Casula Wlfstani^b est de indico sameto confino aurifrigio, in cujus interhumerali breudatur flos vinealis, appositis lapidibus jacinctinis.

Casula Godivae de Coventria^c est de quo panno nigro minutissime ginillato,^d cum gemellis purpureis et rubeis cum aurifrigio, fino interhumerali breudatur arbor auro sine lapidibus.

F. 7 b. col. 1.

Casula Hugonis de Orivall^e est de diaspero albo plano orbiculariter operata avibus et arboribus in orbicularibus, contextum cum optimo aurifrigio cum tassellis, anteriori facto de filo aureo tracto de eodem breudato ymagine majestatis limbis aurifrigia dorsalis consutis stricta linea margaritarum.

Casula de rubea purpura cum nobili tassello in interhumerali breudato Agno Dei cum duobus esmallis magnis et rotundis et cristallis cum literis interpositis.

Casula de purpura quasi marmorea plana ornata aurifrigio fino antierius aurifrigiato et in dorso consuitur margarita interhumerali consimiliter; in cujus fine est tassellus brevis, a quo egrediuntur iij^g gladeoli, et circumdatur illud per tassellos perlis, in cujus medio est lapis vitreus rubeus.

Casula quae dicitur Sancti Aelpegi^f est de sameto^g croceo viridenti plana, ornata aurifrigio bono interhumerali lato, breudato cum lapidibus vitreis, aurifrigiata posteriori subhumerali texto leonibus et avibus tassellis anteriori parvo de filo auri tracto cum perlis.

* This paragraph has been crossed through with red ink.

^b Wlfstanus, Vlfstan, or Wlmann, dean of St. Paul's in the time of bishop Maurice, 1085-1107. His obit was kept October 2.

^c In 1295 this chasuble is described as that "Godithae de Coventre," and is said to be "suspensa et fracta, reservatur ad faciendum alias."

^d Or gnullato.

^e Hugo de Orivalle, a Norman, succeeded bishop William in 1075; he died of leprosy, 12 January 1084-5. The precious stones enumerated in the inventory of 1295 are not mentioned here.

^f St. Alphege, archbishop of Canterbury, martyred April 19, 1012.

^g Samite: a stuff composed sometimes wholly of silk, *pannus holosericus*, but frequently interwoven with gold and silver. Planché, *Cyclopædia of Costume*. Dr. Rock, *Textile Fabrics*, derives the word from ἑξ, six, and μίροι, threads; the number of the strings in the warp of the texture. "Hence to say of any silken tissue, that it was *examitum* or *samit*, meant that it was six-threaded, and therefore costly and splendid."

Casula de rubeo sameto alia aliquantulum vetus plana cum aurifrigio plano intus limbata viridi et croceo obscuro sendato.

Casula quæ dicitur N. archidiaconi^a est de rubeo sameto plano, cum lato humerali ad modum crucis, breudata usque ad talum, florigerata perlis et vitro viridi contrafacto ad modum perlarum anteriori parte eodem modo ornata. Hujus ornatus ponitur super casulam novam de rubeo samito quam dedit O. Legatus,^b et huic apponitur ornatus bifatiæ rem' casula simplex.

Casula quæ fuit Magistri H. de Norhamton' est de rubeo sameto plano satis nova cum aurifrigio ante et retro operato nodis interlaqueatis.

Casula ejusdem de nigra purpura quasi marmorea plana cum aurifrigio bono interhumerali breudato quadam arbore frondibus quasi vinealibus circumflexis.

Casula ejusdem de albo diaspero orbiculari opere quasi ex leonibus vetus est et addubbata aurifrigiis mediocribus. [Reservatur ad aliud.^c]

Casula quæ dicitur Magistri Rogeri capellani est de rubeo sameto plano sine aliquo lineamento interiori aurifrigio solum apposito ad modum archiepiscopalis palleonis.

Casula Radulphi de Diceto, Decani, de rubeo sameto plano cum aurifrigio satis stricto, cujus interhumerali crescit in arborem breudatam ramis vinealiter circumflexis sine tassellis.

Casula Alardi Decani est de nigro samito plano, cujus lista anterior et posterior breudatur quadam vinea. In interhumerali breudatur arbor ramis vinealiter reflexis cum pampinis^d latis. Tassellum habet breudatum ymaginibus Petri et Pauli et Archangeli Michelis.

Casula Ricardi Episcopi est de indico samito plano, aurifrigiata ante et retro lato aurifrigio sine furrura.

Casula R. de Clifford' est de viridi sameto croceali aliquantulum spisso aurifrigiata stricto et bono aurifrigio.

Casula Petri Blesensis est de sameto sanguineo sive epatico plano aurifrigio lato. In tassello anteriori scribitur litteris Archidiaconus London'.

^a N. Archidiaconi, or, in the Inventory of 1295, more fully, Nicholai. Nicholas was arch-deacon of London in 1181.

^b Otho, the Legate. See the highly graphic account of the Council held in St. Paul's 1237. in Milman's *Annals*, p. 48 *et seqq.*

^c The words within brackets are added by another hand.

^d Pampe, Gallica, videtur deducta a *Pampinus*. En une fleur de lys à trois Pampes ou fleurons, &c. Ducange.

Casula episcopi Willelmi est de viridi sameto plano simplici aurifrigio ornata ad modum palleonis sine furrura.

Casula Eustachii Episcopi est de rubeo sameto aurifrigiata, pallionata.*

Casula quæ dicitur Prioris de Achon est de albo diaspero, videlicet, de eodem sicut capa sua prænominata, cum mediocri aurifrigio.

Casula Mauriti episcopi est de purpura marmorea cum orbicularibus et minutis stellis croceis. Interhumera breudatur ad modum arboris, et est de filo auri tracto lapidibus adjectis sub medio lapide, Mauritius me fecit frater episcopus.

Casula de sameto viridi croceali satis mediocri aurifrigio ornata ad modum palli; vetus est.

Casula de panno purpureo rotato contexto leonibus cum minutis rotis croceis, deputatur ad missam capitularem.

Casula qua deservitur in feriis ad altare beatae Mariae est de dyaspero cum vili aurifrigio.

Casula bendata rubeo et purpura ponitur per annum ad Pascha super sepulchrum.

Casula de sameto plus croceo quam viridi, et Casula de diaspero albo, reclutatae sunt et fractae.

Archidiaconus London habet casulam albam.

Casula de rubeo sendato tripolitano, cum aurifrigio Venetensi quam dedit Comes Ricardus.

Casula de bono sameto rubeo cum lato aurifrigio ante et retro nodato et strictiori aurifrigio per circuitum, quæ fuit Rogeri Episcopi.

Casula de sameto purpureo bene parata aurifrigio aliquantulum stricto et nodato et strictiori aurifrigio per circuitum, fuit G. de Lucy, Decani.

Casula quæ dicitur bifatia, eo quod pannus est extra rubeus et intus niger, ornata aurifrigio plano, vetus est et confracta, nec valet ad alicujus usum. Ejus aurifrigium ponitur super capam, a qua ablatum fuit ornamentum et positum super pannum O. Legati,^o ut supra.

Casula crocea, quam dedit Vicarius de Bello Campo.

Jesse, quam dedit Rex in dedicatione ecclesiae.

Casula de purpureo sameto breudata stellis magnis et lunis. Breudatur humerali Crux, Johannes, et Maria, cum arboribus.

* This last word is added by another hand.

^b Maurice, bishop of London, 1086-7 to 1107.

^c Otho, see above.

De Tunicis et Dalmaticis.

Tunica et dalmatica de rubeo sameto peroptimo, quas dedit Magister Laurentius Romanus,^a aurifrigio competenti in limbis cum borduris de eodem sameto aureis.

Tunica de croceo sameto, quam dedit P. Wintoniensis Episcopus nova et aurifrigiata bene cum bordura ejusdem panni aurea cum avibus expansis et Grifonibus et manicis factis in bordura.

F. 7 b. col. 2.

Tunica de viridi sameto, quam dedit Martinus de Pateshuff, cum bordura bene aurifrigiata, et cum borduris strictis inferioribus de eodem panno, et borduris in humeris cum leonibus et sagittariis et manicis de eadem bordura.

Tunica et dalmatica de rubeo sameto cum stricto aurifrigio cum bordura in posteriori parte et floribus cum capitibus draconum deauratis.

Tunica et dalmatica de rubeo sameto virgulata interlaqueata aurifrigio stricto cum superhumerali breudato et limbis ex filio^b argenteo circumligante filum grossum ad modum perlarum, quæ fuerunt Prioris de Achon.

Tunica de imperiali^c cum arboribus rubeis et leonibus cum avibus aureis sine bordura inferiori cum humerali ex auro contexto.

Tunica de alio imperiali florigerata viridi et rubeo cum avibus rubeis ad modum columbarum.

Tunica de alio imperiali cum vineis rubeis infra cujus frondes sunt leones.

Tunica ex alio imperiali quasi marmoreo cum viridibus floribus de panno bono et spisso.

Tunica de panno quodam marmoreo spisso cum rotis et giffones^d infra rotas de serico purpureo cum humeris undatis albo et oculis croceis.

Tunica de quasi consimili panno spisso et rotato cum griffonibus purpureis cum humeris undatis croceo et oculis albis.

Tunica de dyaspero marmoreo spisso quasi purpura sine aurifrigio.

Tunica et dalmatica de imperiali croceo et indico contexto arboribus sine aurifrigio, quæ fuerunt Prioris de Achon.

^a Laurentius Romanus, prebendary of Brownswood, and of Oxgate.

^b *Sic* in orig.

^c Imperiale: Panni pretioris species. Ducange. Probably "woven at a workshop kept up by the Byzantine emperors [at Constantinople], and bearing about it some small though noticeable mark, it took the designation of *Imperial*." It was in use in France as late as the second half of the fifteenth century. Dr. Rock, *Textile Fabrics*, 40.

^d Giffones: *sic*, in error for griffonibus.

Tunica et dalmatica de sendato indico constanter cum aurifrigio, quae fuerunt Eustachii Episcopi.

Tunica et dalmatica de panno serico de arest' cum avibus et pomulis croceis pinalibus, quae factae fuerunt de duobus pannis quos rex dedit.

Quatuor paria tunicarum et dalmaticarum de dyaspero albo plano.

Tunica et dalmatica de dyaspero albo veteres, quibus deservitur ad altare beatae Mariae.

Tunica vetus de sameto rubeo valde usitato, colore quasi amisso.

Tunica virgulata croceo et rubeo quibus deservitur in festo Apostolorum.

Duae tunicae de viridi sameto veteres, quibus deservitur in festo confessorum.

Tunica vetustissima de panno rotato, cum griffonibus albis.

Tunica vetus cum arboribus et pavonibus cum capitibus viridibus et leonibus conjunctis, deputatae sunt pueris.

Tunica et dalmatica de purpureo sameto bene parata boni aurifrigii, fuerunt episcopi Rogeri.

Tunica et dalmatica de viridi columbino ornata lenibus aurifrigiis, fuerunt episcopi Eustachii.

Tunica et dalmatica bene parata veteribus aurifrigiis strictis, fuerunt Episcopi Ricardi, [scilicet, de rubeo sameto de quibus a] ^a

Dalmatica de opere Saracenico inveterata et perforata undique, nullius precii.

Septem aliae puerorum inveteratae et contritae.

De Vestimentis et eorum pertinentiis.

Vestimentum Gilberti Episcopi habet paruras de purpura fusca; breudentur cum stellis et lunulis; stola et manipulus de eodem panno et amictus. In fine stola breudatur Abraham et Melchisedech. In manipulo Jacob. In amicto xij. Apostoli. Deputatur ad officium mortuorum. [Totus deputatur apud Berling.] ^b

Vestimentum Ricardi Episcopi habet paruras de rubeo sameto breudato cum leonibus incedentibus caudis erectis et floribus interlaqueatis. Stola et manipulus de eodem panno, in quorum extremitatibus breudatur arbor cum duabus avibus et leonibus. Amictus est de aurifrigio puro cum barris de margaritis.

^a The words within brackets are added by another hand.

^b The words within brackets are added by another hand. Berling or Barling, a manor in Essex belonging to St. Paul's. "Ecclesia de Berling a est in dominio Canonicorum," &c. Hale's *Domesday of St. Paul's*, 149.

Vestimentum aliud ejusdem habet paruras indici sameti breudatas apostolis, nominibus singulorum suprascriptis. Stola et manipulus ejusdem panni et breudurae; Apostoli cum albis faciebus. In extremitate stolae breudentur Sanctus Nicholaus et Oswaldus; manipuli, Erkenwaldus et Edmundus. Medium amictus breudatur cum puro aurifrigio tracto, cum margaritis et granis auri. Urlatur^a aurifrigio puro et stricto.

Vestimentum Magistri H. de Norhampton' habet paruras rubei sameti. Breudentur leonibus, serpentibus volantibus, aquilis, piscibus, interjectis cum punctis albis et nigris, cum stola et manipulo de eodem panno breudatis leonibus in circulis. In extremitatibus breudentur Uriel Barathiel.^b Amictus est de plano aurifrigio puri auri.

Vestimentum aliud ejusdem habet paruras indici sameti breudatas leonibus, aquilis, arboribus sibimet superpositis. Stola et manipulus ejusdem sameti breudentur ymaginibus. In eorum extremitatibus breudatur Thomas et Paulus; Erkenwaldus et Ricardus episcopus.^c Medium amicti de filo auri tracto florigeratum margaritis. Urlatur aurifrigio stricto in extremitatibus adaucto.

Vestimentum Rogeri capellani habet paruras nigri sameti breudatas leonibus magnis et griffonibus in rotis gemellatis. Stola et manipulus ejusdem panni breudati ymaginibus cum albis faciebus. Breudentur in extremitate Gabriel, Michael, Cherubim et Seraphim. Amictus de plano aurifrigio boni auri.^d

Vestimentum aliud ejusdem cum paruris nigri sameti breudatis cum majestate et apostolis cum albis faciebus sine superscriptione. Stola et manipulus de indico sameto breudati ymaginibus apostolorum et prophetarum, nominibus designatis. In quorum extremitatibus breudentur Sanctus Thomas et Oswaldus, Nicholaus, et Edmundus. Amictus est de aurifrigio plano puri auri. Limbatur veteribus aurifrigiis strictis.

Vestimentum quod dicitur Nicholai Cantoris est cum paruris consuticis, quarum campus est rubeus, cum rotis interius viridibus exterius albis, continentibus leones, cervos, aquilas, et d'chones^e volantes. Stola et manipulus de panno serico F. 8, col. 1.

^a Urlare: orulam vel limbos inserere: Gall. *Orler*: Ducange.

^b Uriel, Barathiel. Uriel, an archangel, "the fire of God."

^c Possibly this may be Ricardus de Belmeis I., who died in 1127-8. "He seems to have endeavoured to get the archiepiscopal dignity restored to the see of London." Le Neve, ii. 281.

^d Alba d[a] tur apud Ardhle . . et remanet residuum. Ardleigh, Erdele, Erdeley, &c. a manor said to have been given to St. Paul's by Athelstan. Hale's *Domesday*, iii.

^e D'chones, for *drachones*, i.e., *dracones*.

nigro burellato, barrato minutis barris auri; extremitates de filo puri auri tracto, arboribus interius consutis margaritis. Amictus aurifrigiatus de puro auro. Interius operatur orbo opere limbatus duobus aurifrigiis strictis. [Deficit totum.]*

Vestimentum quod dicitur R. Archidiaconi Colecestræ habet paruras de rubeo sameto plano sine breadura limbata aurifrigio et virgulatas. Stola et manipulus de rubeo sameto plano. Amictus de aurifrigio puro inciso in medio et ibi consuto.

Vestimentum P. Blesensis habet paruras de rubeo sameto breudatas floribus ad modum crucis; stolam et manipulum de eodem opere. In quorum extremitatibus breudentur Angeli sine nominibus. Amictus de eodem opere et rubeo sameto.

Vestimentum quod dicitur Sweyn^b habet paruras de rubeo sameto breudatas martyribus, confessoribus, virginibus; nominibus illorum inscriptis; stellis sparsim interjectis. Stola et manipulus de plano rubeo sameto. In quorum extremitatibus breudentur Petrus et Paulus, Johannes et Andreas. Amictus de aurifrigio puri auri stricto limbato, veteribus aurifrigiis albescentibus.

Vestimentum quod dicitur Wlfrani habet paruras de panno serico cum avibus rubeis et croceis. Stola et manipulus de eodem panno. Breudentur extremitates linealiter cum stellis minutis. Amictus de nigro serico breudatur lunulis quinque, foliis bisantiis minutis. [Deficit.]^c

Vestimentum de albo serico cum nigris paruris deputatur ad mortuos.

Vestimentum aliud habet paruras de rubeo sameto breudatas leonibus sese adinvicem respicientibus, et quorundam eorum caudæ sese contingunt. Stola et manipulus de viridi serico trifuriatim intexto auro, quarum extremitates sunt de quibusdam panellis de filo purissimi auri tracto, consutis minutissimis margaritis per loca. Amictus de lato aurifrigio puri auri cum gemellis^d strictissimis.

Vestimentum de albo serico habet paruras de panno serico contexto griffonibus rubeis calcantibus leones virides. Amictus ejus vetus de flavo sameto, breudatus floribus cum duobus esmallis et lapidibus cristallinis. [Deficit.]^e

Vestimentum Willelmi Episcopi habet paruras de sameto rubeo breudatas filo

* The words within brackets are inserted by a later hand.

^b This seems to be the same as the "vestimentum quod dicitur Sneyl" of the Inventory of 1295.

^c This word is inserted by a later hand.

^d Gemella: probably diminutive of gemma. Ducange.

^e This word is inserted by another hand.

auri tracto cum perlis peroptimis. Humerale breudatur iiij^{or} ymaginibus, et habet amictum de perulis; quondam Roberti de Clifford.

Vestimentum Decani Alardi habet paruras de rubeo sameto breudatas majestate et apostolis sine inscriptionibus, tendentibus palmas. Habet amictum de aurifrigio puro cum duabus virgulis in medio elevatis intricaturis. Stola et manipulus cum majestate, [et] ymagine in extremitatibus angeli cum campanellis argenteis.

Vestimentum Willelmi Heremitaë habet paruras de nigro samito breudatas tribus regibus venientibus ab oriente et ymagine Beatae Virginis, angelo et pastoribus. Amictum cum ymaginibus Beatae Mariae, Petri et Pauli. De eodem sameto stola et manipulus.

Vestimentum Eustachii Episcopi habet paruras de bordura aurifrigiata de extremitatibus sameti. Amictum de opere Sarracenco cum avibus et floribus. Stola et manipulus de rubeo serico contexto. [Stola et manipulus apud Belc'.]^a

Aliud vestimentum ejusdem sine stola et manipulo de communi aurifrigio. [Deficit.]^b

Vestimenta xij. sunt communia; de uno deservitur ad altare apostolorum.

Vestimentum quod dedit Willelmus camerarius^c Rogeri Episcopi habet paruras de opere saracenco cum scutis.^d Superhumerales^e vetus cum perlis. Amictum de opere sarracenco contexto nodis, sine manipulo et stola, sed zonam de serico operatam.

Vestimentum quod legavit P. Poenitentiarius^f habet paruras de indico sameto cum leonibus magnis infra rotas ambulantibus. Amictus de eodem sameto cum leonibus parvis in rotis se adinvicem respicientibus. Stola et manipulus de eodem sameto breudata cum leonibus et lapidibus.

Vestimentum quod dedit Ricardus Vicarius de Bello Campo^g habet paruras

^a The words within brackets are inserted by another hand. Probably Belchamp, a manor belonging to the dean and chapter.

^b This word is inserted by another hand.

^c William, the chamberlain of bishop Roger Niger.

^d "et ponuntur parurae super vestimentum sericum." This is added in the margin by a later hand.

^e Superhumerales: an amice. The term occurs in archbishop Egberht's Pontifical. *Archæologia*, xxv. 28.

^f Poenitentiarius: the name of the office appears as late as 1724. See Visitation of bishop Gibson in my *Registrum*, &c. p. 289.

^g Bello Campo: Beauchamp.

de serico marmoreo, breudatas leonibus et griffonibus magnis ambulantibus in rotis. Amictus de aurifrigio lato puro.^a Stola et manipulus de eodem serico breudata leonibus magnis rampantibus. Dedit etiam duo manutergia ad altare.

Vestimentum Episcopi Rogeri cum paruris de rubeo sameto, breudatis ad modum v. foliorum circulatis aurifrigiis strictis, cum stola et manipulo ejusdem operis. Amictus de aurifrigio magno nodato.

Vestimentum G. de Lucy, Decani, habet paruras de purpureo sameto breudatas duobus episcopis et ymagine Beati Pauli, cum duabus stolis et duobus manipulis albis contextis viridi. Amictus consuitur cum Resurrectione et Inferno.

Vestimentum aliud Willelmi Heremitae habet paruras rubeas breudatas leopardis incedentibus et griffonibus in rotis magnis. Amictus ejusdem operis.

Vestimentum quod habet paruras de serico rubeo cum leopardis sese adinvicem obviantibus. Stola et manipulus breudantur avibus et leonibus obscuris. Amictus de aurifrigio virgulato.

Vestimenta tria Radulfi Decani deputantur ad commendationes mortuorum, et tria alia ad opus puerorum.

Item sine superioribus vestimentis sunt amicti plures, scilicet, duo de filo puri auri tracto aliquantulum lati et plani.

Amictus cum puro aurifrigio veteri ornatus albis aurifrigiis strictis.

Alius breudatus de auro puro cum rotellis et lapidibus amatistis et perulis.

Item alius cum aurifrigio puro veteri et plano ornato cum veteribus aurifrigiis strictis.

Item alius vetus breudatus cum auro puro et esmallo^b et jaguntiis.^c

Item alius breudatus aquilis et floribus super nigrum sendatum.

Item alius de veteri aurifrigio cum tribus nodis.

Item alius consutus de serico cum leone, griffone, et agno albo.

Item alius de veteri aurifrigio nodato cum gemellis strictis aurifrigii veteris.

Item duae stolae et duo manipuli veteres ornati breadura et laqueatura in fine.

Nota quod supra in proximis tribus columpnis continentur casulae, Tunicae, dalmaticae, vestimenta, et Amictus praeter vestimenta.^d

^a *Puro* inserted by another hand.

^b *Esmal*: *Esmailus*, *encaustum*: Gall. *Email*: Ducange. Enamel.

^c *Jaguntiis*. Probably for *jacintus*, *hyacinthus*, a *jacinth*. The *jacinth*, sometimes called *hyacinth*, is an orange-red variety of the garnet. Streeter's *Precious Stones*, part ii. p. 81.

^d This entry is crossed through with red ink.

De Baudekinis et Pannis Sericis.

Baudekinum^a de rubeo sameto cum grifonibus de auro, quorum alae contingunt se; in cujus contiguitate est flos; [de dono Regis.]^b

Baudekinum de rubeo sameto cum leonibus aureis rampantibus, de dono regis.

Baudekinum de rubeo sameto cum leonibus aureis alatis alis sese contingentibus, leonibus post tergum se respicientibus, de dono ejusdem.

Baudekinum de indico sameto cum citacis^c aureis sese post tergum respicientibus et gladiolis auri, de dono ejusdem.

Item aliud baudekinum, scilicet quintum, per omnia consimile praecedenti.

Item sextum baudekinum purpura tenue ad modum sendati longum virgulum virgulis aureis, [cum pulcra]^d

Item baudekinum de viridi sameto cum citacis aureis habentibus rosas in pectore, quod dedit Comes Flandriæ.^e

Duo baudekina^f purpurei coloris cum capitibus griffonum rubeis et rotis aureis et leuncellis inter rotas.

Item duo alii baudekini purpurei coloris cum griffonibus erectis sese post tergum respicientibus, quorum alae contiguae erigunt flosculum gladeoli aurei, in cujus medio est flos rubeus; et omnes de dono regis.

Item duo baudekini consimiles de dono reginae, bordati rubeo et purpurea rotati, infra quas^g sunt volucres bicipites cum alis expansis, in quorum umbilico sunt stellae rubeae et purpureae.

^a Baldakinus, Baldekinus (Baudekinus): Pannus omnium ditissimus, cujus utpote stamen ex filo auri, subtemen ex serico tegitur, plumario opere intertextus, sic dictus quod *Baldacco*, seu Babylone in Perside, in Occidentales provincias deferretur. Ducange.

With samites and baudekyns

Were curtained the gardens.

Romance of King Alexander. Planché, *Dictionary*.

Dr. Rock, *Textile Fabrics*, p. 40, derives Baudekin from Baldak or Bagdad, which "held for no short length of time the lead all over Asia in weaving fine silks, and, in special, golden stuffs."

^b The words within brackets are inserted by another hand.

^c Citacus, i.e., Psittacus: a parrot, so called, it is said, from Psittace, a city near the Tigris.

^d Added by another hand, the last word being cut off.

^e Probably Thomas of Savoy, count of Flanders, who came to London in 1240. See Matthew Paris, iv. 19. R.S.

^f The scribe writes baudekini or baudekina as it pleases him.

^g Scil. rotas.

Item unus baudekinus cujus campus est rubeus rotatus, et infra rotas leones sese a tergo respicientes cum stellis purpureis et rosis albis.

Item alius baudekinus de dono reginae ex transverso, bordatus purpura et rubeo, cum aquilis expansis, capitibus singulorum coronatis.

Item baudekinus de dono regis, cujus campus est rubeus florigeratus cum griffonibus, quorum oculi purpurei, et aures distillatae purpureae.

Item baudekinus rubeus donatus cum corpore Episcopi Rogeri,^a cum aquilis expansis, in quarum umbilico sunt stellae rubeae, oculi purpurei, et capita quasi mitrata.

Item baudekinus rubeus grossissimi fili, cum pavonibus et tribus listis deauratis in longum, dicitur contextus de intestinis animalium^b de dono Comitissae Ricardi.

Item de dono regis baudekinus rubeus rotatus, et intra rotas citaci^c se respicientes adinvicem cum floribus purpureis v. foliorum.

Baudekinus rubeus cum magnis floribus, cervis, et leonibus, et griffonibus auri, de dono regis.

Item alius rubeus rotatus continens leones et virides flores inter rotas. Rex dedit.

Item alius rubeus et rotatus auro habens iiij^{or} leones in rotis et iiij^{or} aves inter rotas de dono Reginae.

Item alius rubeus strictus cum longis avibus et leonibus, de dono Comitissae Provinciae.^d

Item alius viridis cum parvis rotis aureis; continent duos leones sese respicientes, et quatuor aves inter rotas.

Item baudekinus rubeus rotatus cum geminis citacis in rotas, de dono F. Episcopi.^e

^a The tomb of bishop Roger Niger, figured in Dugdale, p. 58, stood between the north aisle and the choir; a tablet, recording a remarkable storm which occurred whilst he was celebrating mass, hung beside it.

"Bishop Niger was canonised by popular acclamation: his tomb was visited by devout worshippers, and indulgences granted for this pious work." Milman, *Annals*, 56.

^b The scribe has written *alium*. I suppose that *animalium* is intended.

^c Citaci, see above.

^d Comitissa Provinciae: Beatrice countess of Provence, daughter of Thomas of Savoy, arrived in London in 1243; "*mater reginarum Franciae et Angliae, mulier decoris expectabilis, prudens, et civilis.*" See the account of her reception in Matthew Paris, iv. 261. The streets were decorated from London Bridge to Westminster, "*cortinis, aulaeis, et diversis aliis ornamentis,*" at the king's desire.

^e Bishop Fulke Bassett, see above.

Item baudekinus rubeus et strictis cum septem bordis in longum aureis.

[Item baudekinus de dono Domini Regis in obitu A. Thesaurarii.^a

Item baudekinum strictius ulna, cum campo viridi posterius et rubeo anterior, cum xii. rotellis, quod venit cum corpore Willielmi Joimer.^b]^c

Pannus de aresta magnus et longus cum campo indico et minutis avibus et floribus inter virgulas.

Pannus alius magnus sericus rubeus, cum magnis rotis et binis leonibus cristatis in rotis purpureis, et flores inter rotas. Rex dedit H. Decano,^d et decanus postea dedit ecclesiae.

Pannus alius de aresta bordatus ex transverso cum avibus et pomis pineorum interjectis.

Pannus alius de aresta bordatus ex transverso rubeo et indico cum avibus et parvis castris ad caudas.

Pannus alius de aresta rubeus cum arboribus pineis et parvis avibus, unde bordurae virides et strictae, cum parvis rotis; sunt in capite. [Sic.]

Pannus alius de aresta rubeus, rotatus croceis rotis; continent croceos leones sese respicientes a tergo de dono W. de Rale,^e Wintoniensis Episcopi.

Pannus de aresta deputatus est ad costas Beati Laurentii involvendas.

Item pannus sericus de aresta rubeus, cum gemellis croceis.

Item pannus de aresta rubeus, inseratus cum targis croceis, infra quos leones rubei sese respiciunt.

Item pannus rubeus, circulatus croceis circulis, infra quos leones post tergum sese respiciunt, caudis erectis.

Pannus de aresta rubeus, virgulatus gemellis purpureis et croceis, cum avibus croceis sese post tergum respicientibus, cum gladeolis croceis spissis inter eos.

Pannus de aresta rubeus, cum circulis minutis, infra quos sedent reges super leunculos, tenentes flores.

Pannus de aresta cepeatus, tabulatus rubeo et indico, cum pineis et avibus **F. 8 b, col. 1.** post tergum sese respicientibus.

^a Probably Alexander Swerford, see above.

^b William Joymer was mayor of London in 1239.

^c The two items within brackets are inserted by another hand.

^d Probably Henry de Cornhill, dean.

^e William de Raleigh, consecrated bishop of Norwich in St. Paul's, 25 September 1239; translated to Winchester 1244; died 1250 at Touraine. The name is also spelt Ralee, Raley, or Radley.

Duo panni de aresta, quos dederunt Eustachius et Rogerus Episcopi, deputati sunt ad casulas faciendas.

Pannus de aresta, bordatus rubeo et indico coloribus, cum avibus croceis, de dono W. de Rale. Norwicensis Episcopi.

Item duo panni de aresta de dono reginae^a pro filio et filia ex transverso, bordati cum avibus a tergo sese respicientibus.

Item, de dono Comitis Sarum^b in adventu suo de terra sancta, pannus de aresta rubeus, cum citacis croceis et arboribus intextus.

Item de testamento H. Comitis Kanciae^c i. sametum nigrum.

De culcitris et Pannis pendentibus in choro.

Culcitra^d Willelmi Episcopi de rubeo sameto, cum panno rotato.

Culcitra de croceo sendato, cum sameto rotato, cum leonibus post tergum se respicientibus, quam legavit Johannes Tholosanus.^e

Culcitra quam dedit Comes de Albemarla,^f parvi precii est.

Culcitra de viridi sameto, cum sameto rotato, et infra^g leones crocei sese post tergum respicientes, fuit uxoris J. Vitalis.^h

Culcitra lata et vetus, quam ab antiquo dedit Ougerus Senescallus.

^a Regina: Eleanor of Provence, queen of Henry III. Edward, the first-born, was born 16 June, 1239; Margaret her eldest daughter was born 1241.

^b Comes Sarum: William Longespée, earl of Salisbury. "Comes Saresbiriensis initio mensis Martii [1242] de Terra Sancta rediens, applicuit sanus et incolumis in Anglia." Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. iv. p. 188. See the account of his prowess and death, *ib.* v. 153, &c.

^c "Eisdem diebus, comes Cantiae, Hubertus videlicet de Burgo, plenus dierum . . quarto idus Maii [1243] laudabiliter diem clausit extremum apud Banstude manerium suum," Matt. Paris, iv. 243.

^d Culcitra or Culcita: cushions.

^e John de Tholosan was sheriff of London in 1237. He witnesses a deed preserved among the muniments, press A, box 20, No. 301.

^f Willielmus de Fortibus, comes de Albemarla, in Mari Mediterraneo peregrinans, cum nullo modo potest comedere et octo diebus jejunando martirium protelasset, die Veneris proxima ante Pascham [1241] . . spiritum suum . . Christo resignavit." Matthew Paris, iv. 174. After many vicissitudes he had been left by Hen. III. in Britany as one of the chiefs of the army.

^g Scil. rotas.

^h Oliver Vitalis was the bearer of a letter from Saladin to the Pope in 1184. Ralph de Diceto ii. 25. One J. Vitalis was witness to a deed (preserved in St. Paul's) in 1238. He is there called John Vital.

Duo panni serici de aresta veteres limbati albo et nigro quos dedit Rex Johannes.

Duo panni serici de aresta veteres nigri cum griffonibus, quos dedit G. Foliot, episcopus.

Duo panni veteres ejusdem operis, quos dedit rex Johannes.

Quatuor panni de serico veteres, limbati croceo indico sameto, cum griffonibus et leonibus, quos Robertus de Clifford dedit.

Duo panni veteres rotati griffonibus quos dedit G. Foliot, fere nullius precii.

Pannus longus rubeus, cum arboribus et pomulis croceis, quem dedit Eustachius episcopus in consecratione.

Pannus purpureus sine cera magnus, quem dedit Radulfus Decanus.

Pannus croceus, quem dedit Willelmus Episcopus ^a in consecratione.

Pannus virgulatus croceus, de dono ejusdem.

Pannus croceus, de dono Willelmi de Wrotham. ^b

Duo panni serici, quorum unum dedit Magister R. de Bifatiis. ^c

Unus pannus rotatus, vetus, quem dedit Gilbertus Episcopus.

Pannus sericus magnus, quem dedit Willelmus Joymier.

Pannus vetus pendens sub cruce, qui dicitur Bruiz. ^d

Pannus rotatus alius vetus de opere aliorum pannorum supradictorum.

Pannus qui jacet super feretrum Sancti Melliti.

De Tapetiis et Velis.

Sex tapetia magna et spissa.

Unum tapetium, quod fuit Radulfi Decani.

Quatuor thalones ^e cum kanabo ^f lato cortine in choro.

^a William de Sanctae Mariae Ecclesia, consecrated bishop of London at Westminster, 23 May, 1199.

^b "Willelmus de Wrotham, custos portuum maris," 1211. Matthew Paris enumerates him amongst the evil advisers of king John, ii. 533.

^c Probably Ranulf de Bisacia, who held the prebendal stall of Newington 1217-43.

^d Richard de Brus is mentioned as a benefactor to St. Paul's in the Inventory of 1295. Dugdale, 329; and the lady Isabel de Brus is specially named in an indulgence granted by Albinus, bishop of Brechin, *ib.* 10.

^e Thalones: *sic* in MS., but probably we should read chalones, chalo, chalonus, Pars suppellectilis lecti, straguli species. Ducange.

^f Canabo, kanabo: a canopy. In Augustine, *Ser.* 61 *de tempore*, canaba is a hut.

Veteres ymagines cortinarum^a sine kanabo.
Papilio^b quem dedit Alexander Thesaurarius.

Velum quadragesimale integrum.
Velum quod est ante magnam crucem.
Duo vela quae sunt ad duas cruces in duabus alis ecclesiae.
Velum quod est ante crucem ad altare Beatae Mariae.

In istis duabus columpnis supra proxime contentis continentur Baudekini et panni serici, Panni et Culcitrae pendentes in choro, Tapetia et vela.^c

De libris.

Prima pars bibliae veteris Anglicae litterae, in cujus prima parte in custodia^d inscribitur alfabetum Hebraeycum et Graecorum, et durat usque ad Zachariam prophetam.

Item alia pars bibliae consimiliter Anglicae litterae, sed melioris, in cujus custodia prima continentur reliquiae^e quas Theodorus Episcopus^f contulit ecclesiae in secunda, quot annis Alwredus Rex et successores sui vixerunt; et dicitur liber Hugonis Episcopi.^g Finit in Job.

Item alia biblia in duobus voluminibus nova, peroptimae litterae, cujus prima pars finit in Job. In fine ejusdem in custodia inscribitur quomodo Anselmus Cantuariensis^h Archiepiscopus consecravat Ricardum Lond' episcopum. Secunda pars ejusdem litterae incipit in parabolis Salomonis, et finit in epistola Judae; et intitulatur in prima custodia et in margine, Liber Magistri Henrici de Norhampton'. In istis duabus partibus legitur per annum in ecclesia.

^a Cortina: a curtain. Cf. Vulg. Exodus xxxvj. 1.

^b Papilio: Tabernaculum, tentorium. Ducange.

^c This entry is crossed through with red ink.

^d Custodia; the cover.

^e Relics inserted in the cover of a book. See Rock, *Church of our Fathers*, i. 360. A Textus in the British Museum, "beautifully bound in plates of silver, parcel gilt and studded with precious stones. On one side stands out in relief a crucifix, gilt, but hollow within, and holding a lump of wax in which is imbedded a saint's relic."

^f Theodorus, probably the archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated in 668.

^g Probably Hugh de Orivalle, bishop of London 1075.

^h Archbishop Anselm consecrated Richard de Belmeis as bishop of London at Pageham, 26 July, 1108.

Passionarium quod dicitur Pilosum^a incipiens in expulsiōe Symonis Magi, et terminatur in ix.^b milibus virginum, et dicitur esse liber Ricardi Episcopi.^c

Item Omeliarium pilosum, in cujus margine intitulantur Omelyae, et incipit *de Sancta Maria in sabbatis*, et finit *in octabis Sancti Laurentii*.

Item Omelyarium, quod intitulatur parvum, et incipit *vespere^d sabbati quae lucessit*, et finit in omelya *Ascendente^e Jhesu de navicula*; et missum fuit apud Kyrkeby.

Item Evangeliarium et Epistolarium adeo vetus quod fere nullius est momenti.^f

Item Epistolarium adeo vetus quod nullius est momenti.^f

Item collectarium et quaedam missae speciales, et incipit, *Deus qui contritorum*; finit autem de Sancto Erkenwaldo. *Oratio. Guberna familiam tuam.^g*

Item passionale de Scotica littera, praemissis titulis Sanctorum et Kalendario. Incipit in passione Sanctae Agathae et terminatur in passione Sancti Benigni.

Item Omelyarium yemale de bona littera, quod dicitur esse Ricardi Episcopi. Incipiens, *Quomodo juxta Matthaeum*; et finit in omelia, *Egrediente Jhesu in Jericho*.

Item passionale Roberti de Clifford[†] de bona littera, satis novum. Anno Domini ab incarnatione CC. et finit in vita Beati Botulfi.

Item passionale vetus, incipiens in passione Crispini et Crispiniani; et finit [in] legenda de Sancto Barnaba Apostolo.

Item Passionale aliud de bona littera consimile priori incipiens in passione Beati Barnabae; et finit in quadam legenda Epistolae; *In diebus illis surgens Petrus*.

Expositorium Evangeliorum quorundam in quibusdam festivitibus, bonum et novum, de grossa littera, incipiens in Nativitate Domini, In illo Evangelio, *Exiit edictum*; ^b et finit in legenda in festivitate Omnium Sanctorum.

Item Capitularium et Collectarium, bonum et novum, et de bona littera, cum canone missae, quod fuit Radulfi de Dicetto, Decani; incipiens in magna

^a Liber A, a cartulary of St. Paul's, is still called Liber Pilosus on account of its hairy cover.

^b ix. in text, not xi.

^c Ricardus: probably Richard de Belmeis I.

^d Vespere, &c. St. Matthew, xxviii. 1.

^e Ascendente eo in naviculam. St. Matthew, viii. 23.

^f "Ponuntur in armariolo." Note by another hand.

^g Guberna, &c. This collect does not occur in the office of St. Erkenwald, which I have printed in my *Documents*, &c. (Camden Society).

^h Exiit edictum: St. Luke, ii. 1.

rubrica, *Si quid in festivitibus magnae dignitatis primae*; et finit in secreto unius Virginis.

Item benedictionale Willelmi Episcopi annuale, in quo continentur benedictiones abbatum et consecrationes Regum, et qualiter concilium agi debeat et omnium ordinandorum; incipiens in vigilia Nativitatis Domini cum littera aurea, sic, *Omnipotens Deus, qui incarnationem*; et finit, *Omnipotens Deus, qui simul vivorum dominaris et mortuorum*.

Item aliud benedictionale parvum incipit praeter custodias, *Leo episcopus, servus servorum Dei*; subsequentibus quibusdam conciliis; postmodum in initio benedictionum incipit in vigilia Nativitatis Domini, et finit in consecratione virginum.

Item Omeliarium magnum, de peroptima littera, quod fuit Radulfi de Dicetto, Decani, incipiens in prima rubrica, *Quid in festivitibus primae dignitatis in initio primae legendae pro tempore*, alleviata est cum littera aurea, in qua depingitur puerperium Beatae Virginis; et finit in legenda Beati Ambrosii de Beata Tecla.

Item aliud ejusdem de grossiori littera, incipiens, praeter ea quae scribuntur in custodiis, Dominica prima Adventus, in illo Evangelio, *Cum appropinquasset Jhesus Jerusalem*;^a et finit in illo Evangelio, Dominica prima ante Adventum, *Cum sublevasset oculos Jhesus*;^b praeter ea quae scribuntur in custodiis.

Item Omeliarium Sanctorum magnum de grossa littera intitulatum in grossiori littera rubrice, "Liber Radulfus de Diceto, Decani," incipiens in Nativitate Domini, in illo Evangelio, *Exiit edictum*;^c et finit in legenda Jeremiae de virginibus.

Item novum^d Sanctorum Ricardi de Ely, incipiens in translatione Beati Thomae Martyris, quasi in primis custodiis, et in initio aliarum legendarum anni, in Natali Sancti Felicis. *In paucis sic factum est deinceps*; et finit in legenda de Beato Cedda. [Postmodum apponuntur quaterniones . . .].^e

Item Evangeliarium novum et de bona littera, incipiens prima Dominica Adventus Domini, in illo Evangelio, *Cum appropinquasset Jhesus Ierosolymam*.^f Et est prima littera partita de rubeo et azorio florata de viridi; et finit in Evangelio, *Dixit Jhesus discipulis suis et turbis Judeorum*;^g et postea sequitur *Liber generationis*,^h et *factum est autem cum baptizaretur*.ⁱ *Et exultet jam angelica turba*.^k

^a Cum appropinquaret: St. Matthew, xxi. 1.

^b Cum sublevasset: St. John, vi. 5.

^c Exiit edictum: St. Luke, ii. 1.

^d Scil. omeliarium?

^e The words within brackets have been added by another hand.

^f Cum appropinquasset: St. Matthew, xxi. 1.

^g Dixit Jhesus: St. John, viii. 21. *Feria secunda post Reminiscere.*

^h Liber generationis: St. Matthew, i. 1.

ⁱ Factum est: St. Luke, iii. 21.

^k Exultet jam Angelica turba: Daniel, *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, ii. 303, 305.

Item capitularium et collectarium, quod dicitur Magistri Henrici de Norhampton, incipiens in Adventu Domini de bona et grossa littera, praemisso kalendario, Capitulum primum, *Ecce dies veniunt*. Et est grossa littera partita de rubeo et azorio, florata de azorio, et finit in benedictionali super scutum et baculum.

Item benedictionale Eustachii Episcopi bonae litterae, incipiens in rubrica, ordo ad cathecuminum faciendum. Finit cum oratione, *Purificent*. [F. Episcopus habet.] Hoc postmodum est Adam^a

Item omeliarium incipiens, *Sacrosancta*. Magnus liber. Finit in sermone Leonis Papae, in octabis Sancti Laurentii.

Item capitularium et collectarium, sive manuale Eustachii Episcopi, incipiens, praemisso kalendario, Dominica i^a in Adventu Domini, Capitulum, *Scientes quod jam hora est*. Et est littera i^a de auro, et finit in oratione, Adorandam crucem, scilicet, *Deus omnipotens, Ihesu Christe*.

Item capitularium quo utuntur in choro, non magni precii, sed bonae litterae.

Item Missale quoddam David capellani, in quo praemittitur Kalendarium cum litteris aureis et bestiis. Kyrie. Gloria in excelsis. Sequentiae. Concordantiae evangeliorum; et est prima littera deaurata, in cujus medio sedet rex cum dyademate, vestitus rubeo et azorio.

Item breviarium quod dicitur Henrici de Norhampton, cum antiphonario notato, magnum et bonae litterae, praemisso psalterio et kalendario, et ubi incipit legenda, *Visio Ysaiae filii Amos*; et est littera de auro, et medium litterae campus rubeus, in quo homo barbatus tenet rotulum. Finit in illa antiphona de v. panibus et ii. piscibus. Fuit H. de Norhampton'.

Item liber sanctorum ejusdem, de eadem littera, cum antiphonario notato, incipiens in vigilia Sancti Andreae, Capitulo *Corde creditur*.^b Legenda Passio Sancti Andreae; et est prima de azorio et rubeo, interius deaurata et florata minio viridi et croco; et finit in obsequio mortuorum.

Item capitularium et collectarium, quod fuit Hugonis de Raculfe,^c praemisso kalendario bono, et est liber de valde grossa littera. Incipit, *Excita Domine*; et est littera de auro, sedens in campo de azorio, et est intus florata paupere de azorio et viridi et croco. Finit in oratione, *Deus infirmitatis humanae*.

^a The words in brackets are struck out. The rest are added by another hand.

^b Corde creditur: see Sarum Breviary. *Capitulum*, Romans x. 10. In Natali Sancti Andreae.

^c Hugh de Raculf, canon, appears as witness to a deed in the time of Ralph de Diceto. Press A, box 2, No. 616.

Item capitularium, praemissis quibusdam Evangeliiis et Kalendario; incipiens, *Ecce dies veniunt*; littera de rubeo, interius florata de azorio et viridi; et est aliquantulum de antiqua littera; et est prima Rubrica de littera florata grossa, scripta rubeo, viridi, et minio. Finit in oratione, *Omnipotens Dominator Christus*.

Item, liber parvus non magni precii vetus, incipiens, *Gloria Tibi, Trinitas*; in quo praemittitur Kalendarium; in quo continentur missae peculiares, et benedictiones frumenti candentis et aquae; quasi quoddam manuale est. Finit in missa de Sancta Osida;* in cujus custodia depinxit Thesaurarius, capud hirsutum.

INVENTORY OF 1402.

(p. 9.)

Inventarium omnium vestimentorum et aliorum ornamentorum ecclesiasticorum ecclesiae Sancti Pauli Londoñ in Thesauraria ejusdem ecclesiae existentium in festo Sancti Thomae Apostoli Anno Domini M^oCCCC^{mo} secundo, factum per M. T. Stowe, Decanum, Walterum Cooke, et W. Storteford†, Canonicos ecclesiae praedictae.^b

In primis, in primo Armariolo existente in angulo in parte occidentali ex parte dextra sunt xxiii^j^{or} perticae^c in quibus pendent hujusmodi vestimenta, videlicet:

In prima pertica tres Capae preciosae de panno aureo albi coloris auripictae cum floribus et coronis aureis de dono Domini Johannis Ducis Lancastriae.^d

* De S. Vitha, in Inventory of 1295 as printed in Dugdale; but in the original it is Sancta Ositha.

^b Thomas Stowe, dean of St. Paul's, 1400-1405. Walter Coke was prebendary of Holborn in 1397 and 1421 and treasurer in 1399. William Stortford, formerly treasurer, archdeacon of Middlesex 1393-1416.

^c Pertica: patibuli species, cui rei suspenduntur: Ducange. But here, obviously, a beam or frame from which vestments could be suspended.

^d The stately tomb of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, is figured in Dugdale, 60.

In ij. pertica una Casula et ij Tuniculae ejusdem sectae et ex dono ejusdem.

Item in iiij^a pertica v Capae ex panno aureo albi Coloris cum aurifrigiis panni aurei cujus campus est blavij coloris.

In iiij. pertica iiij Capae de panno aureo albi coloris pulverisatae cum literis aureis videlicet M. et Angelis et certis circumferenciis.

Item in v. pertica j Casula et duae Tunicae ejusdem sectae cum Capis proxime dictis.

In vj. pertica iiij Capae de panno aureo albi coloris j Casula et ij Tuniculae de panno aureo et albi coloris.

In vij. pertica ij Capae j Casula ij Tuniculae de panno aureo albi coloris.

In viij pertica j Capa j Casula ij Tuniculae de panno aureo albi coloris.

In ix^a pertica iiij Capae de panno aureo albi coloris cum bonis aurifrigiis auripictae cum diversis magnis ymaginibus.

In x^a pertica ij Capae de panno aureo rubij coloris cum j. Casula et ij. Tuniculae ejusdem coloris.

In xj^a pertica j Capa j Casula ij Tuniculae de rubeo veluto de dono Domini Walteri Aldebery^a pulverisato cum coronis aureis.

In xij pertica j Capa cum Casula et ij Tuniculis de panno aureo rubei coloris de dono Domini W. Courtenay^b cum aurifrigiis pulverisatis cum cignis argenteis.

In xiiij pertica ij Capae de panno aureo ejusdem sectae et ex dono ejusdem (p. 10.) Domini W. cum consimilibus aurifrigiis.

In xiiij. j Casula et ij Tuniculae de panno aureo rubei coloris pulverizato cum vocabulo Jhesu.

In xv. pertica ij Capae ejusdem sectae cum aurifrigiis preciosis.

In xvj. ij Capae antiquae de panno aureo rubei coloris.

In xvij. pertica j Casula de rubeo pulverizata cum gladiis et floribus et una Capa auripicta preciose cum multis historiis bibliae in ymaginibus aureis.

In xvij. pertica iiij Capae de panno aureo rubei coloris.

In xix. pertica ij Capae de panno aureo rubei coloris pulverizato cum diversis ymaginibus aureis.

^a Walter de Aldebery was collated to the deanery of St. Paul's by Simon Sudbury in 1362. Newcourt doubts whether the collation took effect.

^b William Courtenay, bishop of London 1375, translated to Canterbury in 1381. Lord high chancellor in 1381.

In xx. pertica j Capa quondam Sancti Thomae Herefordensis* ij aliae Capae de panno aureo rubei coloris cum magnis ymaginibus.

In xxj. j Capa de panno aureo rubei coloris pulverizato cum diversis ymaginibus aureis.

In xxij. pertica vj Capae de panno aureo rubei coloris cum aurifrigiis blauij coloris cum falconibus aureis capuciatis cum armis dominae Reginae Annae,^b et cum Morsibus ejusdem sectae.

In xxiiij. iiij^{or} Capae de panno aureo rubei coloris.

In xxiiij. pertica v Capae de panno aureo rubei coloris cum aurifrigiis unius sectae.

(p. 11.)

In secundo Armariolo proxime sequenti sunt xxvj perticae, quarum quatuor sunt vacuae et nullatenus occupatae, unde de xxij perticis occupatis est nunc loquendum.

In prima pertica ij Capae de panno aureo rubei coloris, quarum una de velveto rubeo cum leonibus aureis et aurifrigiis de coleriis Domini Ducis Lancastriae et servo^c in medio cujuslibet colerii jacente ex dono domini Roberti Whiteby, et alia de rubeo veluto cum magnis Rosis aureis et aurifrigiis cum ymaginibus aureis, ex dono M. J. Appelby,^d quondam Decani.

In secunda j Casula ij Tuniculae et ij Capae de panno aureo rubei coloris ejusdem sectae cum aurifrigiis blaviis pulverizato cum leopardis aureis.

In iiij. j Capa ij Tuniculae de panno aureo novo rubei coloris.

In iiij^{ta} pertica j Capa cum j Casula et ij Tuniculae de secta duarum Tunicularum proxime precedentium.

In v^{ta} pertica ij Capae de panno aureo rubei coloris pulverizato cum aquilis et leopardis aureis.

* St. Thomas de Cantelupo, bishop of Hereford, canonised 20 April, 1320. His festival was observed on October 2. "Many miracles are recorded as being wrought through the intercession of this saint." *Historia Anglicana*, Harpsfield 473.) Havergal, *Fasti Herefordenses*, 17-19.

^b Anne of Bohemia, first wife of Richard II. The white falcon was one of the king's badges.

^c Servo, i.e., cervo. The lion passant is seen on Dugdale's plate of the monument of John of Gaunt. The collar of SS. is a well-known Lancastrian badge. Probably the *cervus* was the antelope.

^d John de Appleby, dean, 1364-8.

In vj. pertica iiiij^{or} Capae de panno serico novo et satis vilis precii viridis coloris pulverizato cum coronis aureis et leonibus.

In vij. pertica ij Capae j Casula ij Tuniculae de panno serico nigri coloris cum leopardis de auro.

In viij. pertica iij Capae ij Tuniculae ejusdem sectae et coloris.

In ix^a pertica iij Capae ejusdem coloris et sectae.

In x^a pertica j Capa ejusdem coloris et sectae j Casula et ij Tuniculae de panno aureo nigri coloris.

In xj. pertica j Casula ij Tuniculae de panno aureo nigri coloris pulverizato cum feris bestiis aureis.

In xij. pertica ij Capae de panno aureo nigri coloris pulverizato cum feris bestiis et floribus et ramis aureis.

In xiiij. pertica j Capa de panno aureo nigri coloris pulverizata cum leopardis et ij Capae ejusdem coloris pulverizatae cum ij feris bestiis hincinde jacentibus. (p. 12.)

In xiiij^a iij Capae de panno aureo nigri coloris.

In xv^a iij Capae de panno aureo nigri coloris.

In xvj^a iij Capae de panno aureo nigri coloris.

In xvij^a ij Capae de panno aureo nigri coloris.

In xviii. ij Capae de panno aureo cum aurifrigiis auripictis cum diversis ymaginibus in opere aureo.

In xix. j Capa j Casula et ij Tuniculae de panno aureo blavii coloris pulverizato cum coronis aureis, quibus singulis sunt infixae ij pennae de Ostrich.*

In xx^a iij Capae de panno aureo blavii coloris de velveto pulverizatae cum coronis aureis de dono domini Simon de Sudbery,^b dudum Episcopi Lond'.

In xxj. j Casula et ij Tuniculae praedictae sectae et ex dono ejusdem domini Simonis.

In xxij. una Casula crocei coloris, quae quondam fuit Sancti Alphegi,^c et j Capa ejusdem coloris pulverizata cum angelis.

In tertio Armariolo sunt xxv perticae occupatae. Unde in prima pertica sunt (p. 13.)
duae Tuniculae cum una casula de panno aureo albi coloris auripictae cum griffonibus et liliis de auro, et una casula alba de serico.

* The ostrich feather is a favourite badge of the Plantagenets.

^b Simon of Sudbury: bishop of London 1361, translated to Canterbury 1375, beheaded by the rebels 14 June, 1381. His head is still to be seen in a niche in the vestry of St. Gregory's church, Sudbury, Suffolk.

^c St. Alphege, see above.

In secunda pertica tres Casulae albae de serico albi coloris.

In iiij. pertica tres Capae albi coloris de Rakemask^a videlicet de debili panno aureo.

In iiij^a pertica iiij^{or} Capae de Rakemask^e albi coloris.

In v. pertica duae Capae de panno aureo albi coloris aurifrisiatae cum magnis ymaginibus auripictis.

In vj. pertica ij Capae de panno aureo albi coloris auripictae cum diversis truffis^b et aurifrisiatae cum magnis ymaginibus.

In vij. pertica ij Capae de panno aureo albi coloris pulverizato satis tenue cum parvis leonibus et floribus diversis.

In viij. pertica sunt una Casula purpurei coloris pulverizata cum lunis et stellis aureis, et alia Casula de serico plano ejusdem coloris, ij tuniculae de blavio serico stragulatae.

In ix. pertica ij Tuniculae et j Casula de satyn rubei coloris, et aliae duae casulae de satyn ejusdem coloris, et una casula cum diversis armis viridis coloris.

In x^a pertica iiij Capae de panno aureo purpurei coloris diversimode auripictae.

In xj. pertica iiij. Capae ejusdem coloris et sectae.

In xij. pertica iiij Capae ejusdem coloris et sectae.

In xiiij. pertica ij Tuniculae cum una Casula de panno aureo antiquo rubei coloris.

In xiiij. pertica ij Tuniculae rubei coloris de panno aureo stragulatae, et ij Capae ejusdem sectae.

(p. 14.)

In xv pertica ij Tuniculae et una Casula sectae et coloris proxime dictis.

In xvj^a pertica ij Capae de rubeo velveto auripictae cum angelis aureis et armis dominae Isabellae^c quondam Reginae Angliae.

In xvij^a pertica ij Tuniculae et una Casula de rubeo veluto auripictae cum angelis et armis praedictae dominae Isabellae.^b

In xviiij^a pertica ij Tuniculae et una Casula de panno aureo rubei coloris.

In xix^a pertica ij Tuniculae et j Casula et j Capa de dono domini Rogeri Waltham^d quondam Canonici hujus ecclesiae de panno serico rubei coloris.

^a Rakemask: Racamas, panni pretiosoris species. Racamatura, ornatus vestis acu pictus, ab Italico *Raccamere*, acu pingere. Gall: *Broder*. Ducange.

^b Truffis: perhaps for Treffis, Trefoils. See Ducange.

^c Isabella, daughter of Charles V. of France, second queen of Richard II.

^d Roger de Waltham, prebendary of Cadington Minor between 1316 and 1329.

In xx^a ij Tuniculæ cum una Casula de panno aureo de dono Adæ Fraunceys aurifrisiatae cum magnis ymaginibus.

In xxj. pertica ij Tuniculæ cum una Casula de panno aureo viridis coloris et una Capa ejusdem coloris.

In xxij. pertica ij Tuniculæ cum una Casula de rubeo satyn pulverizato cum diversis crucibus de auro.

In xxijj. pertica ij Casulae de Satyn nigri coloris.

In xxiiij. iiij^{or} Tuniculæ blavii coloris de panno serico et ij Tuniculæ de panno serico rubei coloris.

In xxv pertica duo vexilla processionalia pro tempore Paschæ de panno serico viridis coloris auripictæ ex dono domini Johannis Lyntoñ' quondam Camerarij et unum aliud vexillum de dono domini Willelmi Coloyne * viridis coloris.

In quarto Armariolo, videcet, extra hostium domus Thesaurariae, sunt xvij (p. 15) perticae. In quarum prima, videlicet, prope introitum sunt ij Casulae de panno serico viridis coloris, una casula de panno serico albi coloris, et iij Capæ antiquæ de panno aureo rubei coloris.

In secunda pertica ij Tuniculæ et j Casula de blavio serico stragulato, j Capa de panno aureo blavii coloris auripicto cum castellis et ymaginibus diversis.

In iij^a pertica ij Tuniculæ j Casula de panno serico, cum j Capa de panno serico blavii coloris, et j Capa de panno aureo rubei coloris.

In iiij^a pertica ij Tuniculæ j Casula de panno serico viridis coloris auripicto cum piscibus et floribus aureis.

In v. pertica ij Tuniculæ j Casula purpurei coloris de serico aliqualliter auripicto.

In vj. pertica ij Tuniculæ j Casula, cum una Capa purpurei coloris, auripictæ cum garbis et circumferenciis aureis.

In vij. pertica ij Tuniculæ de rubeo baudekyn mixto cum blavio, et j Casula de panno aureo ejusdem coloris, pulverizato cum leopardis aureis.

In viij^a pertica ij Tuniculæ et j Casula de panno serico blavii coloris.

In ix^a pertica ij Tuniculæ j Casula de panno aureo rubei coloris.

In x^a pertica ij Tuniculæ j Casula cum j Capa de panno aureo nigri coloris pulverizato cum leopardis et leonibus.

* William de Coloinge was prebendary of Reculverland in 1371.

In xj pertica ij Tuniculae j Casula iij Capae de panno serico de baudekyn nigri coloris ex dono domini Johannis Ducis Lancastriae quondam.

In xij pertica iij Capae de panno aureo blavii coloris auripicto cum arboribus et leopardis de dono domini Thomae Euere,^a nuper decani.

(p. 16.)

Ex dono domini
Johannis Ducis
Lancastriae.

Item in xiiij^a pertica j Casula ij Tuniculae ex eadem secta de dono ejusdem.

Item in xiiij^a pertica ij Capae ij Tuniculae de panno aureo, cujus campus est blavii coloris, de dono Ducis Lancastriae, pulverizatae cum rosis aureis et pennis albis de ostrich.

In xv^a pertica j Capa j Casula ij Tuniculae de eadem secta.

In xvj. pertica vij Capae ejusdem sectae praecedentis.

In xvij. pertica vij Capae praedictae sectae.

Item in praedicta domo Thesauraria extra armariola vij Capae antiquae usuales et quasi cotidianae albi coloris jacentes ibidem.

Item in eadem domo extra armariola sunt xv Capae antiquae usuales et quasi cotidianae rubei coloris vel quasi jacentes ibidem.

Item ij aliae Capae antiquae ex antiquo opere diversi coloris et ij Capae antiquae blavij coloris, et j Capa purpurei coloris auripicta cum leopardis, et j alia Capa antiqua viridis coloris auripicta diversimode.

(p. 17.)

Albae, Amictae, stolae, et fanones.

In primis in domo Thesauraria una alba cum una amicta de panno de Reynys^b cum paruris aureis de historia sancti Thomae Cantuariensis in ymaginibus cum j stola et j fanone rubei coloris.

Item una alia alba de panno de Reynys cum j amicta ejusdem panni et paruris ac j stola et j fanon rubei coloris auripictae diversimode cum margaritis.

^a Thomas de Evere, or Eure, dean of St. Paul's 1389-1400.

^b Pannus de Reynys: so called from Rennes in Brittany, the original place of its manufacture. Planché.

"I have a shirte of reynes with sleeves pendent."

Mystery of Mary Magdalen. 1512.

"Cloth of raynes to sleep on softe."

Chaucer's Dream, l. 265.

In 1327 three new cloths of Rains were in use for the high altar at Exeter. Rock, *Textile Fabrics*, 68.

Item j alia alba de panno de Reynys cum j amicta j stola et j fanone cum paruris magnarum ymaginum auripictis in rubeo colore.

Item j alia alba de panno de Reynys cum j amicta j stola j fanone et paruris auripictis cum capitibus Christi et Petri et Pauli ac armis Angliae et Franciae in rubeo colore.

Item j alia alba de panno de Reynys cum j amicta j stola j fanone et paruris auripictis cum ymaginibus in colore rubeo.

Item j alia alba de panno de Reynys cum j amicta j stola j fanone et paruris auripictis cum diversis ymaginibus in colore rubeo.

Item j alia alba de panno lineo cum j amicta j stola j fanone et paruris aureis diversorum armorum stragulatis.

Et omnia praedicta sunt involuta in uno panno de Canevas.*

§ Item in uno alio panno de Canevas j alba j amicta de panno de Reynys cum j stola et j fanone et paruris auripictis cum diversis ymaginibus in colore rubeo et albo.

Item j alia alba de panno de Reynys cum j amicta j stola et j fanone et paruris aureis auripictis cum ymaginibus de historia beatae Marie Virginis.

Item j alia alba de panno de Reynys cum j amicta j stola j fanone et paruris aureis auripictis cum ymaginibus Christo et Apostolis sedentibus in sedibus suis albis.

Item j alia alba de panno de Reynys cum j amicta j stola fanone et paruris (p. 18.) aureis auripictis cum ymagine Christi et passione sua.

Item j alia alba de panno de Reynys cum j amicta j stola j fanone et paruris aureis auripictis cum Christo passo et aliis ymaginibus diversimode.

Et omnia proxime dicta sunt involuta et ligata in uno panno de Canevas.

§ Item in alio panno de Canevas j Alba cum Amicta de panno lineo de Reynys et cum stola fanone et paruris de serico blavio auripictis cum diversis ymaginibus apostolorum.

Item j alia alba cum amicta de panno lineo bono cum stola fanone et paruris de panno serico blavij coloris auripictis cum Griffonibus aureis.

Item iij albae de panno lineo cum iij amictis iij stolis iij fanonibus et iij paruris

* Canevas = canvas, *Fr.* canevas. Planché quotes from Dekker, in 1611, "striped canvas for doublets." He might have cited Sir P. Sidney, Spencer, and others. See Johnson's *Dict.* by Latham.

From *Cannabis*, the Latin botanical name for hemp, "we have taken our word *canvas* to mean any texture woven of hempen thread." Rock, *Textile Fabrics*, 3, 4.

de veluto blavii coloris enbroudato cum coronis aureis, de dono domini Simonis de Sudberya, quondam Episcopi Londoni.

Item tres aliae albae iij amictae de bono panno lineo cum ij stolis iij fanonibus et paruris de serico blaveo enbroudato cum coronis aureis de pennis de Ostrich.

Item ij frontalia sive duo panni pro summo altari de panno serico albo enbroudato preciose cum floribus et coronis aureis, et in utroque frontali sunt auripictae tres ymagine aureae sedentes in tronis aureis, in quorum uno sunt ymago Sanctae Trinitatis, in medio ymago Sanctae Mariae, et ex alio latere ymago Salvatoris. Item in alio iij aliae ymagine de eadem secta, videlicet, Sanctae Annae, Sanctae Mariae, et Sanctae Elizabeth, cum j parura stricta aurea pro frontali summi altaris.

(p. 19.)

Item iij albae de panno de Reynys cum tribus amictis ejusdem coloris et sectae, cum tribus stolis et iij fanonibus enbroudatis preciose cum diversis ymaginibus aureis, et uno panno ejusdem sectae, absque tamen ymaginibus.

Item ij Ridelli^a pro summo altari de panno serico stragulato tendente quodammodo ad sectam supradictam.

Item j frontale pro summo altari de panno serico cum rosis aurei coloris et ij pennis argenteis de ostrich et j parura longa pro dicto altari ejusdem sectae, et ij Ridelli ejusdem sectae.

Item iij albae iij amictae de panno de Reynys cum ij stolis et iij fanonibus cum paruris sectae proxime praedictae, et una capsula pro corporali ejusdem sectae.

Item ij frontalia et j parura longa de serico nigri coloris pro summo altari, quorum unum videlicet principale est enbroudatum cum iij ymaginibus, videlicet, Crucifixi, Sanctae Mariae, et Sancti Johannis evangelistae.

Item iij albae iij amictae de panno lineo cum ij stolis et iij fanonibus de panno serico nigri coloris et ij Ridelli ejusdem sectae.

Item j pannus aureus albi coloris inbroudatus cum ymaginibus^b aureis, deputatus pro frontali summi altaris in festis beatae Mariae, cum j parura longa pro eodem altari.

Item unus pannus aureus rubei coloris operato cum leopardis aureis, deputatus pro frontali summi altaris, cum una parura longa pro dicto altari de rubeo veluto cum diversis armis inbroudatis.

Item unus pannus aureus blavii coloris operatus cum cignis et leopardis aureis et rotulis argenteis, et una longa parura pro dicto altari ejusdem coloris, cum leopardis aureis.^c

^a Ridellus: cortina, ex Gallico Rideau, a curtain, Ducange.

^b Over the word *ymaginibus* is written *avibus*.

^c Cum *leopardis aureis* is redundant, the words *et leopardis aureis* having been inserted two lines above.

Item pannus aureus rubei coloris operatus cum lupis sive aliis bestiis aureis, (p. 20.) rosisque et coronis albis, ordinatus pro j frontali pro summo altari; et unum aliud strictum frontale ejusdem sectae pro dicto altari.

Item j alius pannus aureus nigri coloris operatus cum damis jacentibus in uno nodo, ordinatus pro j frontali pro dicto altari; cum uno stricto frontali ejusdem coloris, cum cignis aureis, pro eodem altari.

Item vj* paria pallarum benedictarum de panno lineo, quarum duo paria sunt ^{una pallea est} de opere Parisiensi pro summo altari in uno canevas.

Item iiij^{or} Ridelli de serico viridis coloris stragulato cum regulis de albo et rubeo, et ij Ridelli de serico blavii coloris cum pennis duabus de ostrich affixis in una rosa auripicta.

Item tres albae tres amictae de panno lineo cum paruris de rubeo veluto pulverizato et operato cum parvis angelis et armis Angliae, cum ij stolis et iiij fanonibus ejusdem sectae, de dono dominae Isabellae, quondam reginae Angliae.

Item iiij albae tres amictae cum paruris de rubeo velveto operato cum coronis aureis et cum ij stolis et iiij fanonibus ejusdem sectae, in uno Canevas.

Item iiij albae iiij amictae cum paruris de panno aureo blavii coloris operato cum floribus magnis includentibus in se aves mirabiles, cum ij stolis et iiij fanonibus ejusdem sectae, in uno Canevas.

Item iiij albae iiij amictae, quarum duae albae et iiij amictae sunt de panno de Reynys cum paruris antiquis operatis in purpureo colore, cum diversis ymaginibus et garbis aureis, ij stolis, et iiij fanonibus ejusdem sectae, in quodam coopertorio de Canevas.

Item iiij albae iiij amictae cum paruris de panno aureo rubei coloris operato cum (p. 21.) calicibus aureis et oblatiis albis positis inter duas alas aureas, cum ij stolis et iiij fanonibus ejusdem sectae in uno Canevas.

Item iiij albae iiij amictae cum paruris de panno aureo rubei coloris pulverizato cum diversis gallis et alis aureis, et cum ij stolis et iiij fanonibus ejusdem sectae, in uno Canevas.

Item iiij albae iiij amictae cum paruris de panno aureo operato cum draconibus aureis et parvis lunis et cum ij stolis et iiij fanonibus ejusdem sectae, involuto in uno Coopertorio de Canevas.

Item iiij albae iiij amictae cum paruris de panno aureo nigri coloris operato cum draconibus et foliis aureis et cum ij stolis et iiij fanonibus ejusdem sectae, involutis in uno Canevas.

* Over the figure vj another hand has written iiij.

Item *iiij^{or}* albae et *iiij^{or}* amictae cum paruris de panno aureo nigri coloris pulverizato cum leopardis aureis cum *iiij* stolis et *iiij^{or}* fanonibus ejusdem sectae in uno Canevas. Item ibidem *j* alba *j* amicta *j* stola et *j* fanoñ pulverizatae cum signis ^a aureis nigri coloris.^b

Item *iiij* albae *iiij* amictae cum paruris de panno aureo rubei coloris pulverizato cum diversis literis albis de S. et cum leopardis aureis et cum *iiij* stolis et *iiij* fanonibus ejusdem sectae, de dono domini Johannis quondam Ducis Lancastriae, involutis in uno panno de Canevas.

Item *iiij* albae et *iiij* amictae cum paruris de panno aureo rubei coloris pulverizato cum leonibus et arboribus *j* stola et *iiij* fanones ejusdem sectae, ex dono domini Willelmi Courtenay quondam Episcopi Londoñ involuto in *j* Canevas.

(p. 22.)

Item *v.* albae *v.* amictae cum paruris de serico blavii coloris, aliquibus earum operatis cum rosis et ymaginibus aureis, et aliquibus de serico plano, cum *iiij* stolis et *v.* fanonibus ejusdem sectae, omnibus involutis in uno panno de Canevacio.

Item *iiij* albae *iiij* amictae novae cum paruris de panno aureo blavij coloris operatis cum arboribus, videlicet, quercubus aureis, et albis leopardis, cum *iiij* stolis et *iiij* fanonibus ejusdem sectae, ex dono Magistri Thomae Euere, quondam Decani ecclesiae Sancti Pauli.

Item *iiij* albae *iiij* amictae novae cum paruris de panno aureo blavii coloris pulverizato cum leopardis aureis et foliis albis, cum *iiij* stolis et *iiij* fanonibus ejusdem sectae.

Item *iiij* albae *iiij* amictae de novo panno lineo cum paruris de panno aureo viridis coloris operato cum diversis ramis aureis.

Item *iiij^{or}* albae *iiij^{or}* amictae quarum duae cum paruris aureis operatis cum diversis ymaginibus sericis antiqui operis, et aliae duae habent paruras de serico enbroudato et operato cum diversis armis cum stolis et fanonibus ejusdem sectae, in uno coopertorio de Canevas involutis.

Item *iiij^{or}* albae *iiij^{or}* amictae cum paruris aureis antiqui operis pulverizatae cum diversis ymaginibus Rosis bestiis et ramis aureis de colore rubeo cum *iiij* stolis et *iiij* fanonibus ejusdem sectae, involutis in quodam coopertorio de Canevas.

Item *iiij^{or}* albae *iiij^{or}* amictae cum paruris aureis aliquibus operatis cum ymaginibus de passione Domini et aliquibus cum diversis armis cum *iiij* stolis et *iiij^{or}* fanonibus ejusdem sectae operatis in antiquo opere diversimode involutis in quodam coopertorio de Canevacio.

(p. 23.)

Item *iiij* albae *iiij* amictae de panno de Reynys cum paruris operatis in serico

^a *Signis* for *cygnis*.

^b This item has been added in another hand.

rubei et viridis coloris cum diversis armis cum ij stolis iij fanonibus ejusdem sectae ex dono Ricardi Wokyndoñ'.^a

Item iij albae iij amictae de panno de Reynys cum paruris de serico purpurei et rubei coloris operatis cum antiquis ymaginibus et leopardis aureis cum ij stolis et iij fanonibus ejusdem sectae, ex dono domini Rogeri Waltham, involutis in uno panno de Canevas.

Item iij albae iij amictae de panno lineo novo cum paruris de panno serico albo operato et pulverizato cum diversis avium pedibus cum ij stolis et iij fanonibus involutis in uno Canevas.

Item iij albae iij amictae cum paruris de panno serico albi coloris et aureo pulverizato cum leonibus et diversis avibus aureis cum ij stolis iij fanonibus ejusdem sectae, involutis in eodem coopertorio de Canevas.

Item iij albae iij amictae cum paruris de panno aureo rubei coloris pulverizato cum diversis draconibus et diversis avibus operatis in serico, ordinatae pro altari in vestibulo, cum ij stolis iij fanonibus ejusdem sectae.

Item viij albae viij^b amictae cum paruris albis de panno lineo^c depictis cum Rosis rubeis, ordinatae pro pueris Choristis.

Item vj albae vj amictae cum paruris antiquis de serico albo pulverizato cum stellis rubeis, ordinatae pro pueris choristis.

Item iiiij^{or} albae iiiij^{or} amictae cum paruris de panno lineo nigri coloris, ordinatae pro pueris choristis praedictis. Item iij^d aliae albae cum paruris diversi coloris pro eisdem pueris.

Item viij^e bona corporalia larga cum viij thecis sive capsis aureis operatis (p. 24.) cum diversis ymaginibus preciosis.

Item iiiij^{or} Thecae sive Capsae bonae aureae operatae cum diversis ymaginibus vacuae sine corporalibus.

Item ij antiquae Thecae sive Capsae operatae de antiquo opere aureo sine corporalibus.

Item j Theca magna et lata de veluto rubeo enbroudato cum literis videlicet xxj aureis, cum uno corporali largo et lato, ex dono domini Walteri Aldebery, dudum Canonici hujus ecclesiae.

^a The Wokyndon family had exhibited much interest in St. Paul's. The will of Joan, relict of Sir Nicholas de Wokyndon, dated 1322, is preserved amongst the archives. *Hist. MSS. Com. Report*, ix. 45b; the same lady founded a chantry at the altar of St. Thomas the Martyr, 14 Edw. II., *ib.* p. 54a.

^b Over each figure viij another hand has written vj.

^c Canabij. written above in another hand.

^d Over each figure iiiij another hand has written vj, and over the figure iij has substituted iiiij^{or}.

1. § Item sunt in eadem Thesauraria vj Calices, quorum primus est de auro puro, ponderante xvij uncias et j quarterium, videlicet, xxij libras nobiles de dono dominae Mariae de Sancto Paulo quondam Comitissae Penbrochiae.*

2. Item secundus Calix de auro puro ponderante xx uncias et dimidiam ponderis de Troye, videlicet, xxvij libras nobiles de dono domini Alardi, quondam Decani hujus ecclesiae.

3. Item iiij^{us} Calix argenteus deauratus de antiqua factura ponderis xxvij unciarum et dimidia de pondere trojano, quae faciunt iiij li. iiij s. sterlingorum,^b de dono Henrici de Norhampton.

4. Item iiij^{us} Calix argenteus deauratus ponderis xxj unciarum de pondere Trojano, etiam ponderis xlix s. sterlingorum de dono Johannis Teuesham.

5. Item v. Calix argenteus deauratus ponderis xvij unciarum et dimidia de Troye — xlij s. de dono dominae Elianorae quondam Reginae Angliae.

6. Item vj. Calix argenteus deauratus magnus et altus ponderis iiij librarum de pondere de Troye, videlicet, viij marc. v s. iiij d. factus expensis Decani et Capituli de nova factura.

(p. 25.)

7. Item est vij. Calix de auro puro valoris xl librarum vel circiter impignoratus per Decanum et Capitulum tempore M. J. Appelby, quondam Decani, pro l marcis sterlingorum in cista Michaelis de Northburgh,^c quondam Episcopi Londoniensis.

* "Mary de St. Paul, daughter to Guido Castillion, Earl of St. Paul in France, third wife to Audomare de Valentia Earl of Pembroke, maid, wife, and widow all in a day (her husband being unhappily slain at a tilting at her nuptials), sequestered herself on that sad accident from all worldly delights, bequeathed her soul to God and her estate to pious uses, amongst which this a principal that she founded in Cambridge the college of Mary de Valentia, commonly called Pembroke Hall." Thos. Fuller, *History of the University of Cambridge*, edit. 1840, p. 61. Gray, who was himself a Pembroke man, has helped to give currency to the fable of Aymer de Valence's premature death, designating the foundress of the college as

"sad Chatillon, on her bridal morn,

That wept her bleeding love."

But see Mullinger, *University of Cambridge*, 276 (text and note). "After her marriage she was never known by any other name than that of St. Paul."

^b Sterlingorum: see note by Archdeacon Hale in Milman's *Annals*, second edition, p. 518. He prints an account of the receipts "de pixide Crucis Borealis," in 1342 and 1344, and says: "We learn from the Patent Roll, 2 Ric. II., that the common name of the English penny or *denarius* was *sterlingus*. In the above document the receipt is described as so many pounds 'in sterlings and half pence,' a phrase which seems to explain the term 'a pound sterling' to mean a pound of sterlings, or 240 pence."

^c Michael de Northburgh or Northbrook, bishop of London 1354-1361.

§ Item sunt in eadem Thesauraria vj phiolae sive Cruettae, quarum ij sunt argenteae deauratae de una secta, ponderis xxvij unciarum; duae aliae argenteae deauratae diversae sectae, ponderis x unciarum, et ij aliae argenteae in parte deauratae, et in parte non, ponderis xvj unciarum et dimidia, dimidii quarterii.

Item una bona navis argentea deaurata cum j parvo cocleari argenteo in eadem pro incenso imponendo, ponderis xxxvij unciarum, videlicet, iiij li. vj s. viij d.

Item ij^o Turribula argentea deaurata cum cathenis argenteis ponderantia cxx uncias de pondere de Troye, videlicet, xij li. sterlingorum.

Item ij Turribula argentea deaurata cum cathenis argenteis ponderis lxxxvij unciarum de pondere de Troye, videlicet,* x li. ij s. sterlingorum.

Item ij Turribula argentea deaurata in superficie dumtaxat cum cathenis argenteis ponderantia lxxvj uncias de pondere de Troye, videlicet, viij li. xvij s. vj d. sterlingorum.

Item j parvum Turribulum argenteum deauratum de dono Radulfi de Diceto, quondam Decani hujus ecclesiae, ponderis xij unciarum et dimidia, videlicet, xxix s. ij d. sterlingorum.

Item j Turribulum magnum artificialiter operatum argenteum deauratum cum bonis cathenis argenteis ponderis de Troye xij librarum et ij unciarum, videlicet, xxv marc. dimid. pro quo dominus Thomas Archiepiscopus libenter dedisset lxxx marcas sterlingorum.

Item iiij^{or} Angeli depicti lignei deaurati ponendi super quatuor hastas portandas supra corpus Dominicum sive supra Dominum Regem seu Reginam cum uno panno prout est moris.

Item ij alta Candelabra argentea cum pomellis et crestis deauratis ponderis de (p. 26.) Troye vj librarum x unciarum videlicet, ix li. xj s. iiij d.

Item ij minora candelabra argentea cum pomellis et crestis deauratis ponderis de Troye v librarum, videlicet, vij li. sterlingorum.

§ Item ij pelves sive ij bacini argentei enameciati et deaurati in superficie et in medio elevato cum armis quorum campus est rubeus engreilatus cum uno griffone aureo rapace, et ex utraque parte unus angelus stans et tenens hujusmodi arma sive scutum, de dono domini Ricardi Chikewell, quondam Canonici hujus ecclesiae, ponderis de Troye x librarum dimidia, videlicet, xxij marc. viij d.

* *Quae valent* is erased and *videlicet* substituted.

Item ij Bacini argentei [enamelati et *erased*] deaurati in superficie et in medio cum scutis et armis domini Simonis de Sudberya, quondam Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis et Episcopi Londoni, ponderis de Troye x librarum, videlicet xxj marc.

Item ij Bacini argentei in marginibus et in medio deaurati cum ymagine Sancti Petri in uno et Sancti Pauli in alio, quorum unus est bacinus aquarius, ponderis vj librarum v unciarum de Troye, videlicet, ix li. sterlingorum sive monetae.

Item iij Bacini argentei dissimiles cum uno lavacro argenteo ponderis xij librarum de Troye et xx d.,^a in quorum uno videlicet in medio est una Rosa elevata deaurata cum ij xx. in medio. Et in alio in medio est una magna Rosa deaurata elevata cum ij ymaginibus, videlicet, unius viri et unius feminae, adinvicem stantium. Et in tertia duae ymagine, videlicet, masculi et feminae, stantium.

§ Item unus Ciphus profundus argenteus deauratus ponderis ix unciarum, videlicet xxj s.

Item unus Ciphus de masero duplicatus interius cum argento, cum uno pede argenteo, et uno monili^b Majestatis in profundo deaurato.^c

Item unus Ciphus latus de Berillo puro exterius diversimode concavatus.^d

(p. 27.) Item unum vas argenteum, videlicet, unum Boket, cum uno aspersorio argenteo, ponderans de pondere de Troye iij libras, videlicet, v li. et xij s.

Item una magna Crux^e processionalis argentea deaurata cum diversis ymaginibus eidem Cruci adjunctis, videlicet, cum ymagine Crucifixi, Mariae, et Johannis, ac aliis ymaginibus diversis; et pluribus reliquiis sanctae Crucis et aliis in eadem inclusis, ponderis de Troye xij librarum iij unciarum, videlicet, xvij li. viij d.

Item una Crux cristallina pro corpore Christi imponendo et deferendo in festo ejusdem Corporis Christi et Paschae, cum corona argentea deaurata supposita et impressa diversis margaritis, cum pede et hasta argenteis, valoris ad minus xx librarum sterlingorum.

^a xx^d, i.e. pennyweight.

^b Monile, a jewelled ornament.

“aurea pectoribus demissa monilia pendent.”

Virg. *Æn.* vii. 278.

^c In the margin, Defecit; ex

^d In the margin, Defecit.

^e In the margin, Non est inventus in domo Thesauraria, sed est inter reliquias. Ex[aminatur].

Item unum sconsorum argenteum de novo factum cum una hansa argentea, ponderis de Troye xxvj unciarum, videlicet, lx s. vj d. monetae.

Item iij Morsus ^a argentei deaurati ornati cum diversis lapidibus et margaritis impressi et diversis ymaginibus impositis.

Item ij sudaria de panno lineo ornata cum serico et filis sericis.

Item vj sudaria bona antiqua de serico stragulata et operata cum auro et serico diversi coloris.

Item v sudaria de serico minoris precii.

Item x alia sudaria parva de serico et ij^o manutergia parva et bona.

Item j Mitra bona et preciosa de dono bonae memoriae domini Simonis de Sudberya impressa cum margaritis et lapidibus preciosis, et cum duobus labellis ejusdem sectae

Item j Mitra antiqua de panno albo serico enbroudato cum ij stellis magnis aureis ex utraque parte et impressa in diversis locis cum margaritis et aliquibus lapidibus preciosis cum ij labellis.

Item j alia Mitra quasi consimilis sed minoris precii cum ij labellis.

Item j alia Mitra antiqua de panno serico albo impressa cum diversis margaritis rubeis et aliis paucis albis cum magnis lapidibus aliquantulum preciosis cum ij labellis ejusdem sectae.

Item iij antiquae Mitrae competentes de antiqua factura impressae cum (p. 28.) margaritis et lapidibus diversis cum labellis et aliis pertinentiis suis.

Item una parva Mitra pro puero Episcopo in festo Sanctorum Innocencium.

Item iij paria Citrothecarum episcopalium aurifrisiata cum margaritis et monilibus argenteis deauratis.

Item ij paria Citrothecarum antiquarum episcopalium frisiata cum ymaginibus enbroudatis de serico.

Item iij peciae diversae impressae cum perulis et aliis lapidibus.

Item iij anuli aurei sive iij pontificalia cum iij lapidibus preciosis.

Item j pontificale magnum gemmatum diversimode positum in uno hamperio.

Item j Baculus pastoralis de Mazero sive Cipresso, cum capite argenteo deaurato artificialiter composito.

Et Memorandum, quod dominus Episcopus ^b habet in sua custodia ij baculos pastores pertinentes ad ecclesiam.

Item iiij^{or} magni Quissini de panno aureo antiquo frisiati cum viridi serico.

^a In the margin, Deficiunt.

^b Robert de Braybrooke was then, 1402, bishop of London. He died in 1404.

(p. 29.)

Item ij minores Quissini de eadem secta.

Item ij^o magni Quissini de panno serico blavii coloris, cum Cruce alba magna per totum, et in quolibet quarterio Crucis est operatum capud unius leonis aureum.

Item ij^o Quissini, unus major et alter minor, de rubeo velveto et viridi.

Item ij^o Quissini, unus major et alter minor, de serico rubeo.

Item ij^o Quissini, de panno aureo viridis coloris pulverizati cum diversis leonibus aureis, videlicet, duobus simul sedentibus locis suis.

Item j Quissinus de panno serico viridis coloris pro majori parte operatus cum multis et diversis scutis sive armis.

Item j Quissinus magnus de panno serico rubei coloris.

Item vij pulvinaria unius sectae de serico viridi pulverizata cum draconibus rubeis.

Item j pulvinar antiquum de serico nigro acupicta cum diversis bestiis, quod vocatur pulvinar Sanctae Edithae.^a

Item ij pulvinaria de serico operata cum diversis magnis scutis diversi coloris.

Item ij pulvinaria de rubeo velveto cum j magno leone argenteo operato.

Item j pulvinar de blavio serico, cum una magna aquila aurea.

Item j pulvinar de panno serico cum diversis armis aureis.

Item j pulvinar de serico cum uno magno Tripode de nigro serico operato.^b

Item iiij^{or} Quissini de Worstede^c de blavio et albo scaccato.^d

Item ix pectines eburnei, quorum tres sunt boni, et ij^o eorum inclusi in capsis coreis.

Item iiij^{or} paria sandalia bona de panno aureo operata diversi coloris.

Item unum aliud par sandalium de rubeo serico antiquo operato cum ymaginibus aureis.

Item diversae frengiae de serico diversi coloris involutae in uno panno pro vexillis frisiandis.

Item unum vexillum de serico viridis coloris pro magna Cruce tempore pascali cum ymaginibus Petri et Pauli auripictis in eodem.

Item unus Baculus de ebore pro officio Precentoris in diebus festivis quando instruit, cum capite cristallino.

^a Sanctae Edithae: see above.

^b In the margin, Inserantur ibidem ij.

^c Worstead: a woollen cloth, so called from its being first manufactured at Worstead in Norfolk about the reign of Henry I. See also Rock, *Textile Fabrics*, 65.

^d Scaccato = checked.

Item ij parvi Baculi pro Episcopo puerorum modici precii.

Item in prima Cista sunt xxxviii^o panni aurei novi de Rakemaskę coloris (p. 30.) rubei.

Item in eadem Cista sunt panni aurei novi xxxij de blavio colore de opere de Rakemaskę.

Unde Summa novorum pannorum in prima Cista lxx.

Item in eadem Cista sunt duae magnae peciae de panno aureo antiquo consuti et facti de ij pannis integris de opere antiquo, tendentes in majori parte ad colorem rubeum.

Item ij peciae panni aurei antiqui modici precii.

Item iiij panni aurei novi de Rakemaskę viridis coloris.

Unde Summa totalis pannorum in una et eadem Cista lxxvij, praeter ij pecias parvas praedictas.

Item in secunda Cista sunt xxxviii^o panni aurei de Rakemaskę, quorum xviii^o sunt rubei coloris, et xvij sunt blavii coloris.

§ Item j pannus aureus antiquus rubei coloris auripictus cum Regibus equitantibus in equis aureis.

Item unus pannus aureus antiquus purpurei coloris auripictus cum leonibus et magnis servis^a aureis.

Item j pannus aureus antiquus purpurei coloris cum magnis leopardis aureis.

Item j pannus aureus antiquus purpurei coloris auripictus segregatim cum ij leopardis aureis in circulis aureis.

Item unus pannus aureus antiquus rubei coloris auripictus cum magnis Griffonibus volantibus.

Item vij panni aurei antiqui quasi unius sectae de rubeo colore.

Item j pannus aureus antiquus rubei coloris cum ymaginibus diversis Sancti Petri cum clavibus pendentibus ad zonam suam.

Item xvij panni aurei antiqui debiliores diversi coloris et diversae sectae.

§ Memorandum, quod xxiiij^{to} die Februarii Anno M^oCCCC^{mo} quarto liberati fuerunt quinque Residenciariis, videlicet, Stowe Decano,^b Allerthorp',^c Cookes,

^a Servis, i.e. cervis, ut *supra*.

^b Thomas Stowe, dean, Walter Cooke, and W. Storteford, have been already named at the beginning of this Inventory.

^c Laurence de Allerthorp was prebendary of Cadington Minor in 1388. He was a Baron of the Exchequer. See *Report of Hist. MSS. Com.* ix. 56. b.

(p. 31.)

Storteford', et Kentewode,^a xv panni de Rakemaskē ad dividendum inter eos, videlicet, cuilibet eorum iij panni.

Item liberati fuerunt x panni aurei de Rakemaskē ad faciendum inde novas casulas pro diversis altaribus in ecclesia. Unde summa pannorum hujusmodi xxv.

Item postea fuerunt dati et oblati per Johannam Reginam post bellum juxta Salopiam,^b in quo fuit interfectus dominus Henricus Percy, ij panni ad aurum sufficientes et boni valoris campo albo.

Item postea fuerunt oblati per dominum Henricum Regem Angliae^c in exequiis patris sui diversis vicibus vj panni aurei campo rubeo dame ad aurum cum coronis aureis.

SHORT INVENTORY DATED FEBRUARY 18th, 1445,
(written on blank leaves of the Inventory of 1402).

(p. 5.)

xvii^o Feb. a^o 1445.

Ad Cantariam Thome Stowe^d pondus calicis vix xx. unciae.

Ad altare Sancti Dunstani^e sub custodia domini Willielmi Barnabe pondus calicis xiiij unciae et dimidia.

Ad altare Sancti Johannis,^f Cantaria Beatricis de Roos, pondus calicis xij unciae.

Ad Cantariam Johannis Beauchamp^g in Navi ecclesiae pondus calicis xx unciae j quarterium.

Ad altare Crucifixi apud Northdore^h pondus calicis xv unciae.

^a Reginald Kentwode was collated to the archdeaconry of London in 1400, and was dean of St. Paul's from 1421-2 to 1441.

^b The battle of Shrewsbury, in which Henry Percy was killed, was fought on July 23, 1403. Queen Joan is, of course, Joan of Navarre, second queen of Henry IV.

^c Henry V., son of Henry IV. (who died 20th March, 1412-3). A chantry was founded in the chapel of St. Thomas, by the executors of John of Gaunt, "for the good estate of the said King Henry IV. during his life in this world, and for his soul after his departure hence." Dugdale, 28. This foundation took effect in 13 Henry IV., the king died in the 14th year of his reign.

^d Thomas Stowe, dean of St. Paul's, 1400-1405. For particulars of his chantry see Dugdale's *St. Paul's* 28, 381.

^e St. Dunstan's altar: see account of its consecration in my *Documents illustrating the History of Old St. Paul's*, 45.

^f St. John Baptist "ad ostium boreale." The foundation deed of this chantry is printed in Dugdale 354-356

^g Sir John de Beauchamp. See Dugdale, 26, 386.

^h The Rood at the North Door, see my *Chapters in the History of Old St. Paul's*, 83.

Ad altare sub fferetro Sancti Erkenwaldi pondus calicis

Ad altare Sancti Dunstani pro Cantaria Hyltofte^a pondus calicis xvij unciae j quarterium.

Ad altare Sancti Johannis pro Cantaria Johannis Lovett^b et Pulteney^b pondus calicis

Ad Cantariam de Holme^c et Bery in capella de Holme pondus calicis 8 unciae j quarterium et dimidium.

Ad Cantariam Stephani Graveshende^d pondus [calicis] xvij unciae.

Item ad Cantariam de Holme et Bery^e alius calix ponderis xix unciarum, alius viij unciarum, j quarterii, dimidii quarterii.

Ad altare Sancti Georgii

Magna Crux capellae Domini Ducis Lancastriae^f habet unum magnum pedem rotundum de argento ad modum Castelli formatum cum xvj turribus majoribus et minoribus per circuitum muri exterioris et xiiij turribus infra murum interiorem ponderis cum tabula lignea sub base ejusdem xv marcarum et v. unciarum.

Item in una bursa continetur de pecunia deaurata iij s. iiij d.

Item in alia bursa continetur de argento fracto^g ponderis vij unciarum.

Item in una pixide quadrato continetur de anulis monilibus et argento fracto ponderis xvij unciarum et j quarterii.

Item in una alia pixide cum anulis pontificalibus continentur xiiij anuli de auro puro et duo monilia etiam de auro puro et unus dens de auro puro et unum coclear de jaspide^h cum hasta ornato cum argento deaurato.

[Pp. 6, 7, and 8 are blank.]

^a Hyltofte. See Dugdale, 25, 382.

^b John Lovel, ib. 20, 27. Sir John Pulteney, ib. 22.

^c Roger Holme, ib. 382.

^d Bishop of London, ib. 388, &c.

^e For deeds effecting the consolidation of some of the smaller chantries, see my *Registrum*.

^f John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, see Dugdale, 27, 384, 388. This cross appears to have been given to the chantry by cardinal Beaufort, son of John of Gaunt. A very detailed account of it will be found in Mr. Maxwell Lyte's *Calendar. Hist. MSS. Commiss. Report ix. 54b*. This account is printed at the end of the present Inventory.

^g Argentum fractum, see a valuable note by Archdeacon Hale in Milman's *Annals*, second edition, 518. The pound and solidus were moneys of account, "the only coin being the penny, which broken supplied the half penny and the quadrans or farthing. The frequent mention of *argentum fractum*, not carried to account as pence or half pence, would lead to the supposition that very small fragments of the penny were frequently amongst the offerings." I have one or two specimens of *argentum fractum* found in London.

^h An interesting account of the jasper may be found in Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, part ii. pp. 83-86.

Detailed account of the cross presented by cardinal Beaufort to the chantry of John of Gaunt.

Una Crux preclare pulcritudinis curiosi operis de argento undique deaurato cum ymaginibus Crucifixi, Marie et Johannis et iiij^{or} Evangelistarum ad iiij^{or} cornua predictae crucis et sacre Majestatis in medio post caput Crucifixi, foliisque de lateribus crucis et sub ymaginibus supradictis copiose egredientibus, quorum ij sub ymagine Marie, duo sub ymagine Johannis, et ij in capite Crucis, duo in cornu sinistro, unumque in cornu dextro reperiuntur abesse. Erigitur autem predicta Crux super basem perpulcrum ramis, vitisque foliis cum splendidis Enamulaturis decenter ornatum iiij^{or} etiam leonum ymaginibus supportata habet autem predicta basis hastam in medio ad modum turris elevatum cum pinnaculis, fenestris, et turriculis curiosis cum ymagine Pauli in medio anteriori et ymagine Petri in opposita parte posteriori. Appendit autem predicta Crux cum sua base de pondere Troiano xix marcas vij uncias. Ex dono reverende memorie domini Henrici Sancti Eusebii presbiteri Cardinalis, Episcopi Wyntoniensis, filii prepotentis Principis Johannis Ducis Lancastrie qui fuit filius Regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum Anglie. Habet autem predicta crux in altitudine sua xxvj pollices mensurabiles.

Item ij preciose ymages Angelorum notabilis quantitatis candelabra ferentes in manibus de argento undique deaurato cum alis post terga expansis, stantes super duas altas bases quadratas cum armis predicti reverendissimi patris Henrici Cardinalis ex ejusdem magnificencie dono xxvij^o die Decembris anno domini millesimo cccc^oxlviij^o, anno vero Regis Henrici Sexti post conquestum xxvj^o. Altitudo quidem predictorum Angelorum super bases stantium quasi xv digitorum. Pondus autem predictorum Angelorum de pondere Troie xxx marce iiij uncie.

The original of this document is preserved amongst the cathedral archives. Press A, Box 74, No. 1946.

SHORT INVENTORY OF THE CONTENTS OF THE LADY CHAPEL,
7 JULY, 1445.^a

(p. 1.)

Tempore T. Lyceus, decani.^b

In capella beatae Mariae in custodia Johannis Pembroke a^o 1445, 7 Julii.

^a This Inventory is added on blank leaves of the Inventory of 1402.

^b Thomas Lisiex, dean of St. Paul's, 1441-1456.

In primis duo Candelabra cum pomellis et hastis de cristallo ornata cum argento plano cum pedibus et ciphis superius rotundis et stilis cupris superius ponderis quasi vij marcarum de Troy.

Item duae parvae pelves planae operis^a cum circumferenciis et circulis in medio deauratae, quarum una habet rostrum ad aquam effundendam, ponderis iiij marcarum iiij unciarum et dimidia de Troy.

Item una columpna rotunda cristalina continens reliquias diversas cum basa et coopertorio rotundis de argento deaurato, et habet in capite crucem cum ymagine crucifixi, cum ij lapidibus corallinis ex utraque parte, ponderis vij unciarum et j quarterium de Troy.

Item una parva ymago Crucifixi sine Cruce de argento ponderis quasi dimidia uncia de Troy.

Item una pulcra tabula pro osculo pacis ornata cum argento deaurato operis elmatae per totum cum ymagine beatae Mariae puerum tenentis in sinistra et pomum in dextra in medio praedictae tabulae constituto et habet in planissie tabulae v pulcros lapiedes^b virides iiij rubios ⁊ j blodiam in claves argenteos infixos non ponderata quia habet tabulam ligniam in dorso.

Item una parva ymago beatae Mariae de ebore in tabernaculo eburneo sedentis cum ij lapidibus rubeis ad pedem tabernaculi affixis cum una capsula de correo.

Item duo candelabra rotunda de auricalco parva.

Item unum candelabrum cum ij tenaculis superius cum stilo in medio.

Item unum aliud plate kandilstikk cum cuspide egrediente de latere.

Item una antiqua tabula pro osculo pacis de stanno deaurato cum ymagine crucifixi beatae Mariae et Johannis.

Item una alia antiqua tabula pro osculo pacis de cupro deaurato cum cruce sine ymagine in medio.

Item iiij tapeta antiqua rubii coloris quorum tria sunt cum scutis et armis et tertium cum circumferencia viridi et rosis albis.

Item tria alia tapeta blavii coloris cum popyniayes et rosis rubiis.

Item ij quissini de veluto rubeo^c enbroudato cum cerenis et meremaide,^d arma (p. 2.) tenentibus ex una parte et scutis in tribus denticibus ex altera parte.

^a Here and elsewhere the scribe is pleased to treat *operis* as feminine.

^b Sic.

^c Quissini de veluto, or velvet: cushions of velvet. Richard II., in his will, directed his body to be clothed "in velvet," 1399. The inventory of 1295 makes mention of *velvet*, with its kindred web *fustian*, for chasubles. "The name of velvet, *velluto*, seems to point out Italy as the market through which we got it from the East, for the word in Italian indicates something which is hairy or shaggy, like an animal's skin." Rock, *Textile Fabrics*, 31.

^d Syrens and mermaids.

Item unus alius quissinus de veluto rubeo enbroudato cum armis et galea ex una parte et nigris avibus ex altera.

Item ij quissinae unius sectae de rubeo cerico enbroudato cum rosis albis diversis armis et volucris ex una parte planae ex altera.

Item quissinus antiquus longus cum ij angelis arma tenentibus in medio et iiij evangelistas ad quatuor angulos.

Item alius quissinus de cerico cum agno Dei ex utraque parte.

Item ij parvae quissinae unius sectae cum leonibus albis ex una parte et rubeis crucibus ex altera.

Item iiij pannae lineae depictae de albo et nigro quorum tres pendunt circa pulpitu[m] exterius.

Item unus alius pannus lineus de albo et blodio palido in pulpito.

Item vj pannae lineae operis elaboratae ad cooperiendum altare quorum unus est debilis et laceratus.

Item unus alius pannus planus ad idem opus.

Vestimenta.

Unum vestimentum de albo damasco cum casula alba amicta stola et fanone cum leonibus et falconibus in aurificiis casulae.

Item una alia casula antiqua de albo panno argenteo cum aurificiis auriis et cruce argentea in medio cum leonibus ex una parte et flor[de]lice ex altera parte cum alba amicta stola et fanone de panno albo aureo.

Item una alia casula antiqua de albo damasco cum aurificiis rectis medio avibus et aliis operibus contextis in eisdem cum alba stola amicta et fanone de panno albo enbroudato cum animalibus monstruosis et foliis ederosi^a de argento.

Item una bona stola de panno aureo cum scitis^b diversorum armorum et ramunculis de viridi cerico.

Item una parura pro amictu de blodio Satyn cum coronis auriis.

(p. 3.)

Item j fano[n] de albo damasco aureo.

Item unum corporale de viridi veluto posterius et salutacione angelica interius.

Item unum frontale de panno Damasceno aureo cum marginibus de cerico rubeo lionibus argenteis contextis cum quinque paginibus de rubeo Damasceno diversis ymaginibus et leonibus argenteis desuper contextis cum uno frontello sibi annexo cum popynjays et draconibus de viridi cerico.

Item unum aliud frontale de panno aureo Damasceno cum frontello sibi annexo cum diversis ymaginibus volucris et animalibus aureis in eodem constitutis.

^a Ederosis, i.e. hederosis.

^b Sic, for scutis.

Item unum aliud frontale de panno aureo operis stragulati cum frontello sibi conjuncto de panno aureo viridi rubeo et purpurei coloris.

Item unus pannus niger ad cooperiendum pallium altaris.

Item unus antiquus pannus aureus rubei coloris cum extraniis animalibus de blodio cerico cum capiciis auriis.

Item duo vetustissimae ^a panni aurei pro altari cooperiundo.

Item unus alius pannus laneus niger antiquus ad cooperiendum formulare.

Item unus pannus cilicinus pro magno altari beatae Mariae Virginis.

Item una magna pulcra Rotula cum diversis canticis notatis incipiens *Alma concio*.

Item unum Missale in parva volumine cum kalendario ij^o fo. *Ab omni*.

Item unus pulcher liber de organico ^b cantu incipiens *Salus salvandorum*.

Item unus alius liber pulcher de plano cantu ij^o fo. *Dedicatum est*.

Item unus alius liber de plano cantu ij^o fo. *Ave Maria*.

Item alius liber de plano cantu ij^o fo. *Cellens omnibus*.

Item alius liber de cantu organico ligatus in tabulis ij^o fo. *Eleyson*.

Item unus quaternus de cantu organico ij^o fo. *Vergente soli*.

Item unus alius quaternus de cantu organico ij^o fo. *Kirie eleyson*.

Item unus alius minor quaternus pro organis ij^o fo. *Sapientia*.

(p. 4.)

Item unus alius quaternus de plano cantu incipiens *Flos de spina*.

Item unus alius quaternus de plano cantu incipiens *Ad cenam Agni providi*.

Item unus alius quaternus de cantu organico ij^o fo. *Et in terra*.

Item unus alius quaternus de cantu organico ij^o fo. *Kirie eleyson*.

Item unus alius quaternus de cantu organico incipiens *Patrem omnipotentem*.

Item unus liber cum Epistolis et Evangeliiis beatae Marie Virginis per totum annum in tabulis ligatus ij^o fo. *Consummati*.

Item unus alius quaternus de cantu organico ij^o fo. *Deus creator*.

Item unus alius quaternus de cantu organico ij^o fo.

Item una magna cista juxta magnum altare beatae Mariae pro quiscinis imponendis cum cera.^c

Item ij candelabra lignia deaurata curta pro cereis super ea stantibus.

Item una cista parva longa et stricta pro ceriis ^d inponendis.

^a *Sic*.

^b The word *plano* here has been erased.

^c Cera, i.e. *sera*, a bolt or lock.

^d Ceriis, wax candles or tapers.

Item unus pannus lineus in vestibulo predictae capellae palidus cum blodio et albo cum litera de M. et Rosis rubii coloris in eodem contextis. Habet etiam in medio ymaginem crucifixi beatae Mariae [et] Johannis.

Item una longa cista in praedicto vestibulo pro vestimentis inponendis.

Item unus antiquus pannus aureus rubei coloris cum floribus albi et viridis coloris in eodem operatis.

NOTE on certain precious stones mentioned in the above Inventories.

Enichmus: p. 33.

Possibly enichmus may be connected with the Greek *ἐνικμος*, "having moisture in it." Can the word have regard to the "water" of the stone, or can the enichmus be the enydros that "exudat ut clausam in eo putes fontaneam scaturiginem"? Marbodaens *de Gemmis*, 100.

Compare *Onichinus*, p. 40. Possibly both may be variations of the same word = onyx.

Turquoise: p. 33.

"It hath its name Turcicus," says Baccius, "either because of its excellent beauty, or because it is brought from the Turks." According to old writers, the turquoise was found in their day in the remote parts of India, and was conveyed to Turkey to be cut; whence, probably, it derived its name. Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, 2nd ed. part ii. pp. 44, 45.

Alamandinae: p. 33.

The precious garnet is sometimes called almandine from the city of Alabanda in Caria. Its colour is blood red, cherry, or brownish red. In the mountains below the river Enns in Austria large transparent crystals of almandine are found in serpentine. The crystals which come from Siria in Pegu, which are called Sirian Almandine, are more prized. *Ibid.* part ii. pp. 79, 80.

Peridot: p. 35.

The Peridot was "at one time considered of more value than the diamond. It is translucent and transparent. It is found in the Levant, in Brazil, Mexico, South Africa, Australia, and other countries." Well defined crystals have been found in Vesuvius. It is of a yellowish green colour. *Ibid.* part ii. pp. 101, 102.

Presme: p. 38.

"Presme d'Esmeraude. A base or course Emerald; whereof there be diuers kinds; some transparent as the green Jasper; others of a thick or troubled mallow colour." "Presme," itself is defined to be "a near or next kinsman by father or mother, or in a direct line." Probably "presme d'Esmeraude" is "next of kin to an emerald." Cotgrave's *Dictionary*, 1660.

APPENDIX.



SILVER-GILT STANDING CUP OF THE
CITY OF WESTMINSTER
1694.

The second part of the paper is devoted to the study of the
 properties of the function $f(x)$ which is defined by the equation

$$f(x) = \int_0^x \frac{1}{1+t^2} dt$$
 and the function $g(x)$ which is defined by the equation

$$g(x) = \int_0^x \frac{1}{1+t^4} dt$$
 The first part of the paper is devoted to the study of the
 properties of the function $f(x)$ which is defined by the equation

$$f(x) = \int_0^x \frac{1}{1+t^2} dt$$

The second part of the paper is devoted to the study of the
 properties of the function $g(x)$ which is defined by the equation

$$g(x) = \int_0^x \frac{1}{1+t^4} dt$$

The first part of the paper is devoted to the study of the
 properties of the function $f(x)$ which is defined by the equation

$$f(x) = \int_0^x \frac{1}{1+t^2} dt$$
 The second part of the paper is devoted to the study of the
 properties of the function $g(x)$ which is defined by the equation

$$g(x) = \int_0^x \frac{1}{1+t^4} dt$$

Figure 1

APPENDIX.

The Standing Cup of the city of Westminster.

December 17th, 1885. The Very Rev. the Dean of Westminster exhibited the Standing Cup belonging to the city of Westminster, which was thus described by W. H. St. John Hope, Esq., Assistant-Secretary :—

The Standing Cup belonging to the city of Westminster is one of the finest, as well as the largest, of its class and date, in existence. With its cover it stands 28 inches high. It is of silver, and wholly gilt within and without.

The cup is $16\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, with a hemispherical bowl, 10 inches in diameter and $5\frac{3}{8}$ inches deep. This is joined by a most elaborate baluster stem, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, to a wide-spreading foot, 7 inches in diameter. The general form of the cup is roughly that of a huge chalice. (Plate XXVI.).

The foot has on its lowest edge a bold egg-and-tongue molding, surmounted by a series of beaded circles. Then comes the main spread of the foot, which is covered with a fine repoussé scroll-pattern of double roses and daisies, with a lower border of the egg-and-tongue pattern. The foot is joined to the stem by a bold roll with small stamped pattern.

The stem itself is difficult to describe. It consists of a series of richly-ornamented rings of various thicknesses and diameters—one of which has three bold lions' faces projecting. Just below the bowl, and again lower down, are three scroll corbels like those seen on maces—to which probably to secure a linen napkin when the cup is in use.

The bowl is completely covered by a truly splendid scroll of great double roses and daisies, similar to but larger than that on the foot, with a smaller series of the same flowers above and below. On one side is a small shield with the arms of the city of Westminster.

Round the rim is the following inscription :

✱ THE GEVER TO HIS BRETHREN WISETH
PEACE ✱ W^h PEACE HE WISETH BROTHERS LOVE
ON EARTH ✱ W^h LOVE TO SEALE I AS A PLEDGE
AM GEVEN ✱ A STANDING BOWLE TO BE VSED IN
MIRTHE ✱ THE GVIFFE OF MAVRICE PICKERING
AND IOANE HIS WIFE . 1588.

Under the foot is engraved the weight :

113 oz. 10 dw.*

The following hall-marks are stamped on the bowl :

1. A Lombardic capital G, the London date-letter for 1604-5 ;
2. The lion passant guardant ;
3. The leopard's head crowned ;
4. The maker's, **IA** in a shaped shield.

* With the cover it now weighs 8 lb. 6 oz. Avoir. or 122 oz. 8 dwts. Troy.

So that either the cup given in 1588 was re-made in 1604, or Maurice and Joan Pickering gave the money with which to buy it.

The cover is hemispherical in shape, with a pyramidal top. The surface is covered with a good pattern of double roses and daisies, with flowers between. One of these is partly replaced by a shield with the city arms. On the top of the cover is a bold gadrooned circle, surmounted by a smaller one. Above these rises a broad flat boss, ornamented with leaf-work, on which is a tall four-legged frame carrying a ball surmounted by a winged female figure holding a palm branch—representing Peace.

A very brief inspection of this standing cup will suffice to show that the cover is of very much inferior workmanship to the cup itself. Further examination reveals a different maker's mark on the top, and the following complete set inside:

1. An old-English capital **M** in a plain shield, being the London date letter for 1677-8
2. The leopard's head crowned;
3. The lion passant guardant;
4. The maker's mark, I H with a fleur-de-lis between two pellets in base, in a shaped shield.

So that between cup and cover there is a difference of seventy-three years.

With respect to the donor of the silver of this cup, I have been favoured with a few notes by Mr. W. M. Trollope, the town clerk of Westminster:

“Maurice Pickering was keeper of the gatehouse (in Westminster) in the time of queen Elizabeth, a post which it is supposed his father held before him. The office was in the gift of the dean and chapter, and was considered one of some importance. It cannot be ascertained when he was appointed, but in a paper addressed to lord treasurer Burleigh in 1580, he said, ‘My predecessor and my wief and I have kept this office of the gatehouse this xxiii yeres and upwards.’ He was considered a great man in Westminster, and in official documents he was styled Morris Pickering, gentleman. At one time he and his wife are mentioned as dining at a marriage-feast at the bishop of Rochester's in Westminster Close, and another as supping with Sir George Peckham, justice of the peace.

On one occasion he got sadly into trouble, for when supping with Sir George he foolishly let out some of the secrets of his office in chatting with lady Peckham (the gatehouse was at that time full of poor needy prisoners for religion's sake whose poverty had become notorious). He told her ladyship in answer to a question she asked him, ‘Yea, I have maneye poore people for that cause (meaning religion) and for restraunte (poverty) of their friends. I fear they will starve as I have no allowance for them.’ For this Pickering fell sadly into trouble, was summoned before the lord chancellor, examined by the judges and severely reprimanded, upon which he sent a most humble and sorrowful petition to lord Burleigh, praying the comfort of his good lord's mercy in the matter, and protesting that he had ever prayed for the prosperous reign of the queene, ‘who hath defended us from the tearing of the Deville, the Poope, and all his ravening wolvess.’ It is supposed the Privy Council took no further notice of the matter, as no mention is made to that effect, only that occasionally he made a return of the prisoners in the gatehouse to the justices of the peace assembled at quarter sessions. At times he had some celebrated

characters under his care—Dr. Kysby, for religion's sake, and at another time that 'arrant scold,' Long Meg of Westminster. The beautiful silver-gilt standing-cup which he gave to the burgesses of Westminster is supposed to be all that is left as a memorial of Pickering.

The great Standing-Cup is a fine piece of Elizabethan metal-work, and the cover held over the heads of those who drank the pledge is surmounted with what was called in the old art language 'an antique'—properly speaking, it is a grace cup, not a 'bowl.' The quaint inscription should be read as follows :

The giver to his brethren wisheth peace,
With peace he wisheth brothers love on earth,
Which love to seal I as a pledge am given
A standing bowl to be used in mirth.

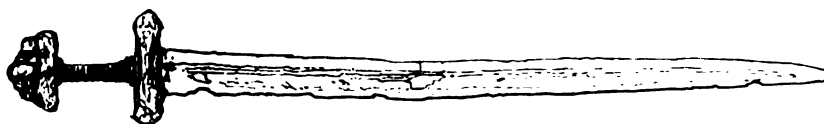
The Gift of Maurice Pickering and Joan his wife, 1588.

These few particulars are gathered from State Papers."

*On an iron sword of Scandinavian type found in London, now in the British Museum;
and a bronze stirrup of the same period found near Romsey, in Hampshire, in
the possession of Philip B. Davis Cook, Esq.*

November 25th, 1886. C. H. Read, Esq., F.S.A. exhibited a sword of Scandinavian type found in London, and a bronze stirrup of the same period found near Romsey, in Hampshire, on which he communicated the following remarks:—

The sword exhibited this evening by the Rev. J. C. Jackson was bought from a dealer in the north of London by the late Mr. Henry Dunbar Baines. The story told was that it had been found in the tomb of the Earl of Pembroke in the Temple church about forty years ago; and with this history it was left by Mr. Baines at his death, with a desire that it should be presented to the British Museum. A very slight examination of the sword, however, suffices to show that it can have no connection with the Earl of Pembroke; and the probability is that the whole story is an invention, and that the sword was found in the bed of the Thames, a conjecture which its condition would fully justify.



Sword of Scandinavian type found in London (one-eighth linear).

This type of sword is of very common occurrence in Scandinavia; and a certain number of examples, differing slightly in details, have also been discovered in this country. For an English specimen, however, it is an unusually fine one, from the elaborate decoration of the handle, which, though now much rusted and oxidised, still bears signs of having been executed with much care and skill. The pommel is modelled in the form of two conventional heads of animals, once plated with silver, and the details are indicated by an inlay of copper. The grip is formed, in the usual way, of the tang of the blade, which was originally thickened, probably with strips of wood, now entirely decayed. There still remains, however, the binding of plain silver wire, which entirely covered the grip, and is finished at the top and bottom with a plaited band of similar wire. The present condition of this part of the sword is somewhat deceptive, for the wire, which, when the sword was first found, probably encircled the grip very loosely, has been bound tightly round it, and thus gives it an unduly slender appearance. The guard is straight, with convex faces, and has been entirely plated with silver, and enriched with ornament composed of the serpentine animals so common in northern art. Of this silver plating a great part still remains upon the faces of the guard, but the upper and lower edges are now without any indica-

tion of plating or of ornament. The blade is 2 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, straight and double-edged, with a broad channel down the middle. I have carefully examined the surface in the hope of finding



Hilt of sword of Scandinavian type found in London (one-half linear).

some trace upon it either of damascening, or of a maker's stamp, or possibly the remains of one of those curious but unintelligible inscriptions which are sometimes found upon these weapons. The state of decay into which the blade has fallen will, however, be sufficient to account for the disappearance of any marks that it may once have borne.

The decoration of the hilt has been very skilfully and laboriously executed; and the method is the same as that now practised by the Indian and Persian smiths in inlaying gold or silver over a large surface of iron or steel, viz.: by cross-hatching the whole space to be covered, and then hammering the silver plate upon it, the slight roughing being quite sufficient to give it a firm hold. In this sword, however, the details seem to have been first engraved through this silver coating, and the lines then filled with copper wire. The animals' heads which form the pommel are bound with twisted and plaited wires so as to resemble the heads of horses, but the design is purely conventional; it is not easy to say what animal, if any, is intended.

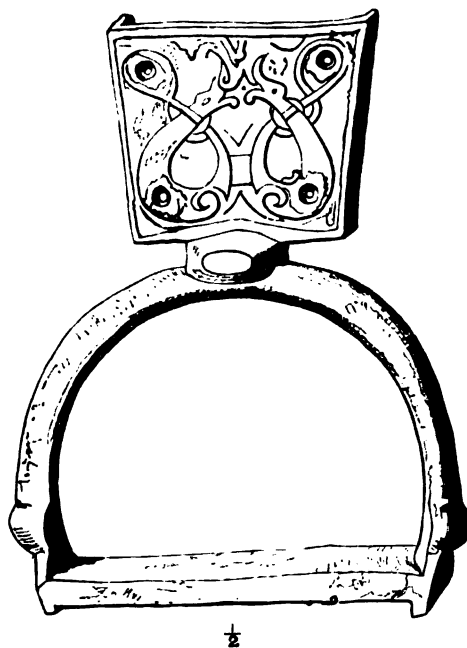
In the second part of Dr. O. Rygh's excellent work on Norwegian antiquities (*Norske Oldsager*, No. 504), is engraved a sword almost identical with our specimen, but found in Norway; and another very similar is figured in the English translation of Worsaae's *Primeval Antiquities of Denmark*, p. 49. Though the general type is not uncommon in this country, I have not been able to find any English specimen which tallies with this one in all points of form. Thus, in the swords of which the base of the pommel and the guard are both straight, the pommel itself is triangular, and without the three bosses usually found (and here elaborated into animals' heads), while, in those having the bossy pommel, the plate at the base is curved upwards and the guard downwards. Of this latter form is the sword found at Santon, Norfolk, with a pair of convex oval brooches of bronze, one of which, with the sword, is now in the British Museum. A finer example of the same type, found in the river Witham, and also in the Museum series, illustrates the sword we have here; the decoration of the hilt consists of rows of lozenges of gold

bordered with lines of copper; the gold plating is fixed in the same manner, but that in the Witham specimen the hatching is formed by perfectly regular vertical lines. The blade is inscribed with large inlaid letters, perhaps indicating a somewhat more recent date.

There can be, however, but a slight difference in age between the swords of the Santon type and of that now under consideration, though the rigid angular form of the latter was gradually superseded by the curved guard seen in the Santon sword; and this form continued to be used, with slight variations, for some centuries later. On one occasion, at least, the two types have been found together. The discovery is recorded in the *Archaeological Journal*, vol. VIII. p. 424, and the objects are figured on the following page. They consist of a sword with straight guard and triangular pommel, another pommel with three knobs and the base curved upwards (*i.e.* the Santon type), and a large iron spearhead, with two wings on the socket. These were found, with two human skulls, in a field outside the town of Nottingham. Assuming, therefore, that the objects were in the same grave, we must conclude that both the swords were in use at the same period. Dr. Sven Söderberg, of Lund, informs me, however, that in all the Swedish graves excavated by Dr. Stolpe the Santon type of sword is invariably associated with relics of a later date than the year 1000, while the straight guard and triangular pommel accompany interments of the three centuries preceding this date. The evidence thus seems to point to the conclusion that the sword before us was made at the time of transition to the later form of hilt, for while the guard remains straight as before, the pommel has already assumed the triple knob form which afterwards became its characteristic feature.

The stirrup which Mr. Davis Cook has been good enough to bring to our notice is a very interesting object, and from its affinity to the sword, as well in period as in style, it is fortunate that they have come before us at the same time. This specimen was found in a peat bog at Mot-tisfont, near Romsey, in Hampshire; it is of bronze, 6 inches in length, and, with slight differences, is almost of the shape now in use. At the top, where in the modern stirrup is the loop for the strap, there is a quadrangular plate, pierced with four holes, by means of which there was probably attached to it either the strap itself, or possibly a second plate, now wanting, to which the strap was fixed. The only decoration on the stirrup is on the front of this plate, and consists of two serpentine monsters facing each other and twisted upon themselves. The silver wire with which the design was traced has now almost entirely disappeared, and only the empty lines remain. It is purely Scandinavian in style, and strongly resembles the ornament engraved in the bottom of a silver bowl from Gotland, figured in Dr. Hildebrand's charming little *Handbook of Scandinavian Arts*, at p. 138. This figure shows also the peculiarity, seen in the animals on the stirrup, that the tails of the monsters divide into two, and each half forms curves independently of the other. In Worsaae's *Nordiske Oldsager* (1859), p. 116, fig. 481, is a stirrup, said to be of iron, of the same form, and with similar ornament on the upper plate. The plate itself is, however, not a simple square, but has the upper edge extended into a trefoil-headed point. In this respect it resembles the preceding figure, No. 480, on the same page, in which the plate for the strap is hooked through an oblong opening in the top of the stirrup. This stirrup is much longer in proportion and is triangular in form, not round like our specimen and Worsaae's

No. 481, and is evidently, moreover, made in a different fashion. So different is it in make, that it seems almost impossible that both are of hammered iron. The connection that there seems to be between these two forms, the round and the elongated triangle, induced me to bring this



Bronze stirrup found near Romsey, Hants (one-half linear).

evening rough drawings of two stirrups of the triangular form preserved in the Museum, one of which was found in the Thames and the other in the Witham, at Lincoln. They are of iron, and the hoop at each side widens at the base into a broad square plate, ornamented with spiral patterns inlaid in brass on a roughly hatched ground. This design is so peculiar that we have had some hesitation in assigning the stirrups to any precise period or country. It seems probable, however, from their strong likeness to the specimen in the Copenhagen Museum, that they are, like it, of Scandinavian make, and doubtless of about the same period of manufacture.

Ornament of the same kind as that upon Mr. Cook's stirrup is frequently met with on antiquities of northern origin found in this country. A spearhead preserved in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle has a silver-plated socket with serpentine animals, and another, found in the county of Durham, with other iron weapons, is similarly ornamented. This latter specimen remains in private hands. Though of a somewhat later date, the ornament upon the pastoral staff found in the tomb of Ralph Flambard, bishop of Durham (1099-1128), is precisely of this character. A representation of it is given in *Archaeologia*, xlv. p. 388, pl. xxxi.

The antiquaries of Sweden and Norway are now giving considerable attention to the antiquities of this interesting period in the history of their country and our own, and it is to be hoped that before long we may see a comprehensive account of the ample material at their disposal, which has been brought to light in great measure by the energy of Dr. Stolpe.

Notes on a Danish sword-hilt found near Wallingford.

November 25th, 1886. John Evans, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., President, exhibited and communicated the following notes on a Danish sword-hilt found near Wallingford :

The fragment of a sword which I exhibit this evening was found some ten or twelve years ago at or near Wallingford, and was added to my collection by my son, Mr. Arthur J. Evans, F.S.A. Unfortunately the greater part of the blade had disappeared when he obtained the relic, and what remained of the iron or steel portion of the weapon was much oxidized, so that the silver plates with which the upper and lower guards of the hilt were decorated had become detached. Of the pommel, which was likewise in silver, only some fragments had been preserved. Enough, however, remained to show the shape and character ; so that the restoration, which has been skilfully effected by Mr. W. Talbot Ready, may, I think, be trusted as showing the original form of the whole hilt. What remains of the blade is about $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by about 2 in. broad.

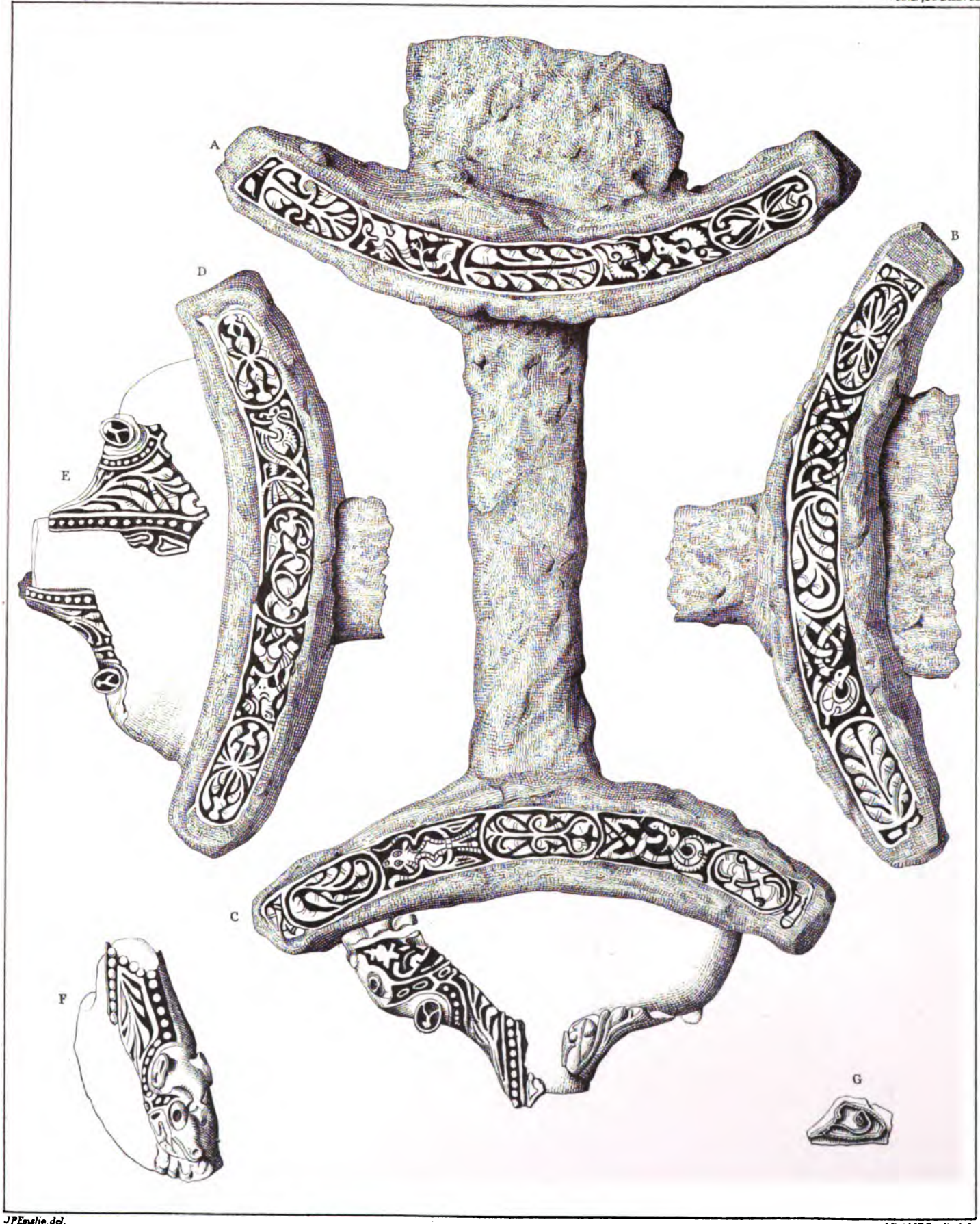
The guards above and below the actual grip for the hand curve upwards and downwards respectively, the upper being about five inches in extreme length and the lower about four and a-half. On the sides of the guards are highly-ornamented silver plates, each of which differs from the others in the details of its design, though in general features they resemble each other. The design is in each case divided into five nearly equal lengths, and in the centre and at both ends of every plate is a round-ended or quasi-oval compartment, the intermediate spaces being filled in with highly artistic devices.

It will perhaps be well briefly to describe these plates, the engraving of which was apparently heightened by niello, of which traces remain.

Upper guard No. 1. (A in plate.) The three oval compartments are filled with designs differing from each other and from those on No. 2, but bearing the same general character. The spaces between them are filled with zoomorphic patterns, difficult of description. That on the left shows a quadruped with a branched and leafy tail, some portions of which pass over its back and through its neck. Its position on the guard is with the back of the animal towards the hand. The other figure appears to be that of a dragon twisted into an S-like form, and with a head and wings at each end.

Upper guard No. 2. (B.) The compartments are filled with scroll and leaf patterns, and the intermediate spaces are filled, the one with an interlaced band with a central fret, and the other with a dragon having its tail in a triangular interlacing knot, and the head turned back.

Lower guard No. 1. (C) The three compartments are again filled with different designs, that on the right being possibly zoomorphic. In the space on the left is a curious animal with a dog-like head lying between its two fore paws ; over the back is a semicircular ring connecting the fore legs ; behind appear to be two wings with a bird's tail between them. In the right-hand space is an interlaced figure, apparently that of a dragon.



J.P. Enslie, del.

J.P. & W.R. Enslie, lith.

DANISH SWORD-HILT FOUND AT WALLINGFORD.
(Full size)

Lower guard No 2 (D.) The three compartments are again differently ornamented. That in the centre has a peculiar design, possibly zoomorphic. The space on the left is filled with a pattern in which can be traced the outlines of a bird. On the right is a human figure holding a branch in his right hand. The body is turned to the right and the head to the left. There is some appearance of a wing over the left shoulder.

The pommel (E, F), which is broad and flattened, is unfortunately very imperfect. The outline of each side has formed an ogee curve. The ends next the guard are in the shape of animals' heads, like those of squirrels, the ears of which are oval, with three sunk triangular spaces upon them. Behind the ears is a beaded band, which is continued up the side of the pommel. Two similar bands have run down each of the faces of the pommel; outside them it has been ornamented with a foliated pattern. Too little remains of the pommel between the bands to determine the character of its ornamentation.

Judging from the form of the hilt and the style of its decoration, there can be little doubt that it is of Scandinavian rather than Saxon manufacture. At the same time I am unable to find an exactly analogous example. The sword from the river Witham near Lincoln, engraved in *Horæ Ferales* (Plate xxvi. 5), has the guards and pommel of nearly the same form as mine, but the lower guard is shorter in proportion, and the ornamentation is of a quite different character. The pommel of a Viking^a sword found in the island of Eigg is similar to mine in outline, but differs from it entirely in details.

The curved guards find somewhat of a parallel in a sword from Scania^b in the Stockholm Museum, but the decoration is quite different.

Another sword in the Stockholm Museum^c has the curved guards and pommel ending in animals' heads, so as in general character much to resemble that from Wallingford. It is, however, ornamented with silver, inlaid in the iron in fine lines and points, and not by means of silver plates.

With the sword there was a small fragment of a thin gold plate (G), which adheres to a piece of rusted iron. It is only $\frac{3}{8}$ inch long and $\frac{3}{8}$ inch broad, and comes to an acute angle at one end, as if it had, when perfect, fitted in a triangular recess. The surface is ornamented with a roughly triangular compartment enclosing a spiral, the ornament being formed of flat wire with a cable pattern on one edge, which has been burnt on to the plate. It is hard to say to what part of the sword this plate belonged. It may, moreover, have been a decoration of the scabbard. On a somewhat similar pommel, however, also terminating in animals' heads, preserved in the British Museum, is a central plate of gold ornamented with filagree work. This pommel, which is probably Danish, was found in the Seine at Paris.

As already observed, this sword is Scandinavian or Danish rather than Saxon in character, and from its style of ornament it must be assigned to the end of the tenth or the beginning of the

^a *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* vol. xii. Pl. xxx.

^b *Aarbög. for Oldkynd.* 1880, p. 347.

^c *Montelius Antiquités Suédoises*, fig. 506.

eleventh century. It becomes, therefore, a question of interest whether we can in any way connect the occurrence of such a relic at Wallingford with any of the Danish invasions recorded in history; and it is satisfactory to find, that so far as the presence of the Danes at that inland town is concerned, there is not the slightest difficulty.

In July 1006 it is recorded that an innumerable fleet of Danish ships landed at Sandwich, and the warriors it brought ravaged parts of Kent and Sussex, and when attacked by Æthelred retreated to their ships, from time to time renewing their plundering expeditions. In the autumn they brought great booty to the Isle of Wight, and thence made an incursion at Christmas through Hants into Berks, burning the towns of Reading, Wallingford, and Cholsey.^a

Again, in the year 1013, king Sweyn and his army, when unsuccessful in their siege of London, retreated to Wallingford,^b and so over the Thames westward to Bath, burning and harrying by the way in their accustomed manner.

Of one or other of these expeditions it seems most probable that the sword before us is a relic; and it is satisfactory to find that a date, assigned on purely archaeological grounds, so accurately accords with that which must be attributed to it upon historical evidence.

^a *Flor. Wig.—Hen. Huntend.—Ang. Sax. Chron. s. a. 1006.*

^b *Opp. citt. s. a. 1013.*

INDEX.

A.

Abbey churches, *see* "Battle," "Cleeve," "Glas-tonbury," "Meaux," "Sawtre," "Tyrone," "Waltham"

Account books of St. Stephen, Coleman Street, London, 22

Acre, definition of, at Malmesbury, 434-435

Adam, resurrection of, ornamentation subject on cross at St. Paul's cathedral, 445, 471

Addubbatum, use of word, 470

Ægil, the sun-archer of Teutonic myth, place named from, 81

Affuratores of Aylesbury, 94, 103

Agriculture, common field system at Bottesford, 374, 382; at Malmesbury, 427, 437
——— *see* "Meadow," "Pasture"

Alamandinae, garnet sometimes so called, 524

Albigenses, sect of the, 306

Aldeborne manor, burgesses in Cricklade belong-ing to, 208

Aldeburgh (Margery de) will of (1391), 183

Alderman, chief officer of Malmesbury, 428, 434

Aldhelm, work of at Malmesbury, 425

Ale-tasters of Aylesbury, 103

Alexander III., Pope, charters by to Wells, 315, 316, 353; confirmation of the possessions of the church at Bath by, 353-355

Alford (Theophilus), vicar of St. Stephen's, Cole-man Street (1660), 32-33

Alfred (laws of), pre-emption in, 209

Alien monasteries in Somersetshire, 360
——— priories, seizure of by Edward III. 254

Alienation of lands at Malmesbury, 436-438

Alleys, in the parish of St. Stephen, Coleman Street, London, 17, 33

Allington, possession of Hamble priory in, 253

Altar, dedications of, to be recorded, 70

Amber beads, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Slea-ford, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404

Ambresbury, religious foundation at, by Henry II. 302

Ambrose (St.), representation of, on seal, 126

American Indians, common rights of food amongst, 197

Amphitheatre, Roman, at Silchester, 266

Ampullae, silver, belonging to St. Paul's cathe-dral (1245), 443, 467

Ancestral shares of village community, 207

Ancholme, river, old channel of the, 361, 368-369

Andrew (St.), relics of belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 453
——— representations of, 119, 165

Angelo (Michael), arrangement of Fasti Capitolini by, 236, 245

Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Sleaford, 383-406
——— church at Deerhurst, 66-71
——— villeins, holdings of, 207

Anglo-Saxons, growth of new communities amongst the, 200
——— method of settlement in Britain, 214
——— conquest of Malmesbury district by, 423, 424

Animal bones discovered in Anglo-Saxon ceme-tery at Sleaford, 388

- Animal tooth used as pendant, discovered in Anglo-Saxon graves, 391
- Annecy (Richard de), grants of to Hamblepriory, 253
- Aquae Solis, road from Silchester to, 266
- Archer (Dr.), Archdeacon of Taunton and of Wells, 295
- Archery butts at Bottesford, 377
- Architecture, fifteenth century, 283
- , Norman, in Italy, 409-419
- , Roman, near Lake of Nemi, 64-65
- , Saxon, at Deerhurst, 66-71
- of Lichfield cathedral, 14
- of the Regia at Rome, 247-250
- of Wells cathedral, 339-344
- of Westminster Hall, 5-8
- Ardleigh Manor belonging to St. Paul's, 487
- Areste, cloth of, 480
- Argentum fractum, 519
- Aricina (Diana), temple of, 58-65
- Armilla, bronze, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 391, 402
- Armour of Sir Philip Hinckaert, fifteenth century, 79-80
- see "Helmet"
- Armourers' and Braziers' Company, mazer belonging to, 137, 171-172
- Arms of Thomas Ballard, 151, 152
- Beauchamp, 141
- Cotes family, 137, 174
- Hinckaert, 73
- Ironmongers' Company, London, 161
- unknown, on mazer, 172
- Arras cloth, 480
- Arrow-head mark used by masons, 2-3
- Art, fifteenth century, 283, 284, 286
- Artemisium (the), excavations on supposed site of, 58-65
- Arthurian legend, publication of, 310
- Arundel (Richard, earl of), will of (1392), 183
- Arval records, inscribed on walls of temple at Rome, 236
- Ascension, representation of at Friskney, 281-283
- Asia Minor, masons' mark in, 3
- Assault, actions for, in manor court, 100, 101, 372, 375
- Assembly, the, at Malmesbury, 432
- Assistants of Malmesbury, 430, 431, 434
- Athelstan (King), grants to Malmesbury by, 427, 433, 437
- ATKINSON (ALFRED), Notes on an ancient boat found at Brigg, 361-370
- Atrium, use of the word, 243-244
- Atrium Vestae, meaning of, 243-245
- Augustine (St.), representation of, on seal, 124
- Augustinian canons, monasteries of in Somersetshire, 360
- Aulescomb, church of granted to Wells cathedral church, 357
- Australian tribes, common rights of food amongst, 197
- Axe, representation of on sepulchral stones, 202
- Axe, iron, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 403
- Aylesbury, manor of, 81-103

B.

- Badge, party, seventh century, 293
- of Plantagenets, 503
- Bakers, licensed by manor court of Aylesbury, 96
- Baldwyn (Sir John), acquisition of Aylesbury by, 87
- Ballard (Thomas), arms of, 151, 152
- Banewel, villa of, in possession of Bath cathedral (1179), 354
- Barbers, wills of (1392), 183
- Baret (John), will of (1463), 189
- Bari, town of in Italy, 409-413, 417, 419
- Barletta, town of in Italy, 416
- Barns, repair of, presentment of owners for, 372
- Barrow (North), church of, granted to Wells, 327, 328, 359

- Barrow (South), grants at, to Wells cathedral, 359
- Bartholomew (St.), dedications to, 294
- Barton, home farm of, granted to Wells, 326
- Basilica, Roman, excavated at Silchester, 267
- Basket-work figures of men on sculptured stones, 286-294
- Basons, silver, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, (1245), 443-444, 469
- Bassock, a thick peat used for fuel, 375, 379, 382
- Bath, site of Aquae Solis, 266
- Reginald Fitzjocelin, bishop of (1174-1191), 295-360
- church of, grants to, *see* "Banewel," "Cedde," "Cherleton," "Chyu," "Dorkemfeld," "Evercrez," "Gatinton," "Hiwis," "Kingsbere," "Lidiard"
- Baths, Roman, excavation of at Silchester, 272-280
- Battle of Wakefield, 22
- Battle Abbey, mazers at, 130; plate in the frater, 186
- "Battle-stones," stones so-called at Checkley, 286, 292
- Baudekings, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 450-451, 491
- Bavaria, succession custom in, 204
- Bay trees, sacred, in the Regia at Rome, 240
- Bead-necklets, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404
- Beads, amber, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 397, 398, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404
- bone, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 403
- glass, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404
- porcelain, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 396
- seed capsules used for, in Anglo-Saxon cemetery, 387
- Beates, digging of, presentment against in manor court, 372
- Beauchamp arms, on mazer, 141
- Beaukaire (William), payments to at funeral of Edward II. 217, 220
- Becket (Thomas à), attestation of to charter of Henry II. 252, 259
- incidents relating to, 297, 298, 299, 300
- "Becket's shoe-buckle," stone so-called, 142
- Beehive houses in Italy, 407
- Beer, fines for selling contrary to assize, 372
- Beket (Nicholas), agreement with, by Hamble priory, *temp.* Henry III. 253, 259.
- Belchamp manor belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 489
- Bell (Richard), episcopum Karliolensem (1478), 189
- Benedict (St.), representation of, 168
- Benedictine abbey at Hamble, 251
- monasteries in Somersetshire, 360
- Benedictionale, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 451, 498, 499
- Benetson (William), will of (1392), 183
- Berkeley (Thomas de), custody of Edward II. by, 216, 218, 221
- Berkeley Castle, death of Edward II. at, 215-226
- Berkshire, *see* "Newbury," "Wallingford," "Windsor"
- Berling Manor, belonging to St. Paul's, 486
- Bertram (St.), residence of at Ilam, 294
- Bibles belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 451, 496
- Bid-ales, archaic origin of, 197
- Bigberry Hill, triangular bricks discovered at, 422
- Binding, *see* "Book Covers"
- Birch rod, mark used by masons, 4
- Bird-dragons, sculptured on stones at Checkley and Ilam, 289, 290
- Bishop (William), testimony of to murder of Edward II. 219
- Bishops, foreign, holding the See of Somerset, 297

- Bitonto, town of in Italy, 413, 419
 Blackburn (Margaret), will of (1433), 186
 Bladen, Caer, British fortress of, 422-424
 Blaise (St.), relics of belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 453
 Blenkinsop (Alexander), will of (1442), 187
 Blythe (Henry de), citizen and painter of York (1365), 182
 Boat, ancient, found at Brigg, 361-370
 Bodleian library, MS. of Pirrho Ligorio at, 250
 Bohemond, prince of Antioch, tomb of, 416
 Bohun (de), family of, 297
 Bolton (Richard le Scrop, Lord), will of (1400), 185
 Bone beads, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 403
 Bonneville (Richard de), grant of to Wells cathedral church, 358
 Bone spindle-whorl, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 392
 Book-covers, fifteenth century, 75
 ——— hairy, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 451, 497
 Books given to priory of Bath, twelfth century, 307
 ——— belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 451, 457, 496-500, 523
 ——— church, inventory of (1466), 36-37; (1542), 46; selling of, *temp.* Henry VIII. 20
 ——— *see* "Defoe," "Dugdale," "Lingard," "Music," "Rapin"
 Borough of Aylesbury, parliamentary representation of, 88
 ——— of Malmesbury, history of as a village community, 421-438
 Borough-English, custom of, 195, 211-214
 Boston, gild of St. Mary, 191
 Bottesford, manor records of, 371-382
 Boundaries, fixing of, in Ireland, 212
 ——— of manors intermixed, 378
 ——— of township and manor, 371
 Bovey, church of, granted to Wells cathedral church, 358
 Bowls, drinking, or mazers, 129-193
 Bowls, bronze, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 395
 Bowyer (Margaret), lady of Bottesford manor (1591), 381
 Boy-bishop, ceremonial of, at St. Paul's cathedral, 446-447, 448, 472-473, 480
 Bozun (Simon), grant of, to Wells cathedral church, 358
 Bracelets, amber and glass, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 391, 392
 ——— leathern, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 387
 ——— wire, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 392
 Brackens used for bedding for cattle, 377
 Bradenstoke priory, rights of, in church of Cheddar, 358
 Brahminism, influence of, on property, 204
 Braikenridge (W. Jerdone), mazer belonging to, 169, 170
 Brasiatores, in manor of Aylesbury, 103
 Braunston manor, custom of, 208
 Brereton (Richard), will of (1557), 193
 Brette (Johan), will of (1496), 190
 Breviarium, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 451, 452, 499
 Brewers, in manor of Aylesbury, 103
 Bricks, triangular, discovered at Malmesbury, 422
 Bride-ales, archaic origin of, 197
 Brigg, ancient boat found at, 361-370
 Brindisi, churches of, 418-419
 Bristol, wills and inventories of inhabitants, 182
 British camp at South Kyme, 383
 ——— earthworks at Silchester, 265, 266
 ——— remains discovered at Sleaford, 383
 British Museum, book in, 496; book in, once belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 452
 ——— sword, Scandinavian, in, 530, 531, 535
 Brito (Simon), grant of, to church, for murder of Becket. 317
 Britons, evidence as to clothing of, 292
 Brixedone, grant of a hide of land at, 252

- Brocas (Sir Bernard), farmer of Hamble priory (1394), 254, 258
- Brodie, sculptured stone at, 292
- Brokenburgh, near Malmesbury, 423
- Bromfield, church of, granted to Wells cathedral, 357
- Bronze, armillae, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 391, 402
- bowl, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 395
- buckle, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 393, 396, 403
- buttons, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 392
- clasps, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 390, 391, 393, 394, 397, 398, 399, 400
- doors to church at Trani, 414; to tomb at Canosa, 416
- earring, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389
- fibulae, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 398
- girdle-hanger, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 399, 406
- objects (Roman), found near Lake of Nemi, 65
- pendant, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 393, 397
- pins, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 390, 394, 397, 399, 404, 406
- rings, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 393, 394, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 406
- stirrup, Scandinavian, found at Mottesfont, 532-533
- tweezers, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 390, 393, 395, 397, 401, 403
- Bronze-gilt fibula, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389
- Brooches, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 388
- Browne (Rev. G. F., B.D.), on basket-work figures of men represented on sculptured stones, 286-294
- Brugge (Walter de), canon of York (1396), 184
- Brussels, castle of Tervueren near, 74
- Buchan (David, earl of), signet belonging to, 105, 106, 108
- Bucket, framework of, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 395, 402, 406
- portions of, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 393
- Buckingham, the "Three Cups," inn sign in, 85
- Buckingham (George, marquis of), acquisition of Aylesbury by, 88
- Buckinghamshire, *see* "Aylesbury"
- Buckland, Durham, grant of, to Wells cathedral church, 356
- Buckle, bronze, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 393, 396, 403
- iron, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 390, 391, 394, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404
- Buclermaker, will of (1400), 185
- Building agreement, earliest example of, 253, 259
- Bull of Innocent II. relative to priory at Hamble, 252
- Bullen (Sir William), acquisition of Aylesbury by, 87
- Burcelles, a manor roll word, 374, 380
- Burgesses belonging to manors, 208
- Burgh (Bernard de), payments to, at funeral of Edward II. 217
- Burial in churchyards in London (1665), 33
- Burial-ground of Wells cathedral, statute concerning, 338-339
- Burial-place, *see* "Cemetery"
- Burmah, land inalienable in, 204
- Bury, wills of inhabitants of, 186, 190, 191, 193
- Butclarius, definition of, 348
- Butler (Theobald le), acquisition of Aylesbury by, 83, 92
- Butlers (Earls of Ormond), pedigree of, 92
- Buttons, bronze, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 392
- Byzantine influence on northern architecture, 408-420

C.

- Caen, hall of the exchequer at, 3
 Caer Bladon, near Malmesbury, 422-424
 Caer Dur, near Malmesbury, 422-424
 Caer Segonte, British name of Silchester, 265
 Cæsar (Julius), as Pontifex Maximus, 240-241
 ——— remains of villa built by, 60
 Cairns, Anglo-Saxon, *see* "Stone Cists"
 Caistor, Roman station of, 370
 Calefactoria belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 443
 Calendar, Roman, materials for kept at the Regia, 236
 Calendar, preserved at St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, *temp.* Henry VIII. 19
 Caligula, incident in life of, 60; villa of near Civita la Vigna, 61
 Calleva Atrebatum, site of at Silchester, 265
 Calvely (Antony), will of (1562-3), 193
 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, mazer at, 136, 144-146, 157-158, 161, 165
 ——— Pembroke College, foundation of, 512; mazers at, 133, 136, 152-153
 ——— St. John's College, Irish MS. Psalter at, 292
 Cambridgeshire, *see* "Ely"
 Came (William), will of (1496), 190
 Camp, British, at South Kyme, 383
 Camville family, grant by, 336, 337
 Camville (Richard de), gift of to Wells cathedral church, 356
 Canal, Roman, near Sleaford, 384
 Candelabra belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 443, 468; (1445), 457, 521
 Candlestick, Egyptian alabaster, at Canosa, 416
 Canosa, town of, in Italy, 415-416, 419
 Canterbury, triangular bricks discovered near, 422
 ——— archbishops of, disputes with Baldwin, 319, 320; election of Reginald, 321
 ——— cathedral, crypt altars in, 71; burning of the choir at (1174), 303
 Canterbury, mazers at, 129, 132, 133, 143-144
 ——— Christchurch priory, mazers belonging to, 176-181
 ——— St. John's hospital, mazers at, 143-144, 146, 171
 Canvas, use of, fifteenth century, 507
 Capital burgesses of Malmesbury, 430, 434
 Cardinals' seals, sixteenth century, 118-128
 Carlele (John, of York), will of (1390), 182
 Carnarvonshire, *see* "Clynnog"
 Carpenter, will of (1441), 187
 Carthampton, church of, granted to Wells cathedral church, 358
 Carthusian Order, first house of, in England, 302; monastery in Somersetshire, 360
 Castle near Bari, in Italy, 417, 418
 ——— near Brussels, 74
 ——— *see* "Windsor"
 Castor, *see* "Durobrivæ"
 Cataldus (St.), buried at Taranto, 417
 Cathari, sect of the, 306
 Cathedral church funds, Wells, 315
 Catherine (St.), representation of, on seal, 119
 Cattle, rights of property in, Ireland, 211
 Cattle, diseased, selling of, presented in Aylesbury manor court, 101; orders of manor court against, 372, 379, 380, 382
 Ceddre, church of, in possession of Bath cathedral (1179), 354
 Cellini (Benvenuto), seals ascribed to, 118, 122, 123, 126-127
 Celtic church in Wilts, 424
 ——— strongholds in Wilts, 421-425
 Celtic, *see* "British"
 Cemetery, Anglo-Saxon, at Sleaford, 383-406
 Cenae Pontificum, probable scene of the, at Rome, 240
 Cenis, Mont, fortresses on to be ceded to Henry II. 301, 302
 Censors, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 443
 Centuries, corporation of Malmesbury divided into, 427

- Cerde, church and manor of, in possession of
 Bath cathedral (1179), 354
 Ceylon, custom of inheritance in, 208
 Chairs, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 447-
 448, 474
 Chalices belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245),
 442, 464-466; (1402) 455, 512
 Chancellors' roll, Edward III. entry of moneys
 for expenses of Edward II. on, 216, 217,
 223-226
 Chandler (Thomas), chancellor of Wells (1454),
 296
 Chandos (Maude de), grant of, to Wells cathe-
 dral church, 359
 Charcoal discovered in Anglo-Saxon cemetery at
 Sleaford, 387; among Roman remains at
 Silchester, 274
 Charles I. diamond of, 112-115, 117
 — events of his reign in London, 23-24
 Charles II. events of his reign in London, 29-32
 — letters of, 113-115
 Charters at Wells, 315-316
 — Anglo-Saxon, pre-emption in, 210
 — municipal, of Wells, 312, 350
 Chasubles belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 449,
 454, 457, 482-484
 Chatelaines, discovered at Sleaford, *see* "Girdle-
 hangers"
 CHEALES (REV. HENRY JOHN, M.A.), on the mural
 paintings in All Saints church, Friskney,
 Lincolnshire, 281-286
 Checkley, sculptured stones at, 286-294
 Cheddar, church of, granted to Wells cathedral
 church, 358
 Cherleton, land at, in possession of Bath cathe-
 dral (1179), 354
 Cheshire, *see* "Sandbach"
 Chieftainship, succession to, 211
 Childcompton, church of, granted to Wells
 cathedral, 357
 Chillenden (Adam de), prior of Canterbury
 1263-1274, 178
 Christ, representations of, at Friskney, 281, 282,
 284
 Christianity, influence of, on property, 204
 CHURCH (REV. C. M., M.A., F.S.A.), on Reginald,
 bishop of Bath 1174-1191; his episcopate
 and his share in the building of the church
 of Wells, 295-359
 Church, growth of town round the, at Wells, 311
 Church-building, twelfth century, by Reginald,
 bishop of Bath, 307; fifteenth century, 283
 Church goods, inventories of, at St. Stephen's,
 Coleman Street, London, 19-20, 34-48
 Church-plate, mazers included amongst, 134, *see*
 "Plate"
 Church of England, importance of parochial in-
 stitutions to, 24
 Churches, *see* "Aulescomb," "Barrow," "Bath,"
 "Bovey," "Brindisi," "Bromfield," "Can-
 terbury," "Carthampton," "Cedre,"
 "Childcompton," "Chyu," "Clynnog,"
 "Colchester," "Cudworth," "Deerhurst,"
 "Dorkemefield," "Dowliswake," "Ely,"
 "Epworth," "Evercrez," "Exeter," "Fair-
 ford," "Friskney," "Henstridge," "Hiwis,"
 "Holcombe," "Hornchurch," "Hound,"
 "Kingsbere," "Lameia," "Lichfield,"
 "Lideford," "Lincoln," "London," "Lovin-
 ton," "Pilton," "Shalford," "South Brent,"
 "Stowey," "Taon," "Timberscombe,"
 "Walenton," "Warminster," "Wells,"
 "Winchester," "Wivelscumb," "World-
 ham," "Wynesford," "York"
 Churches, Italian (eastern coast), 407-420
 Churchwardens, ordinances of, at St. Stephen's,
 Coleman Street, London, 20, 48
 Chyu, church of, in possession of Bath cathedral
 (1179), 353
 Ciphi de mazer, 129
 Cirencester, survival of ancient constitution at,
 438
 — site of Corinium, 266
 Cistercian monastery in Somersetshire, 360
 Clare (Lady Elizabeth de Burgh), will of (1355),
 182
 CLARKE (SOMERS, F.S.A.), on the west side of
 Westminster Hall, 9-16

- Clasps, bronze, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 390, 391, 393, 394, 397, 398, 399, 400
 ——— bronze gilt, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 402
 ——— gilt, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 396, 400, 403, 404, 405
 Cleeve Abbey, founding of, 317
 Clement III. Pope, charter by to Wells, 316
 Clerk, duties of, at St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London, 21, 49
 Clerk-ales, archaic origin of, 197
 Cloth, church vestments of (1466), 38, 39
 ——— *see* "Arras," "Canvas," "Fustian," "Rains," "Worsted"
 Clothing, early British, evidence as to, 292
 Cluniac monastery in Somersetshire, 360
 Clyde, the, prehistoric boats found in, 370
 Clyfford (John de), will of (1392), 183
 Clynnog church, mazer belonging to, 155
 Coinage, argentum fractum, 519; *see* "Sterling"
 Coins (Roman), found near Lake of Nemi, 65;
 at Silchester, 274; near Sleaford, 384, 387, 390, 391, 393, 399, 401, 403, 404
 Colchester, Holy Trinity church, mazer belonging to, 156
 Cologne, the master of, paintings by, 79
 Comb, silver, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 443
 Common field system at Bottesford, 374, 382; at Malmesbury, 427, 437
 Common Pleas, court of, at Westminster, 15
 Commoners of Malmesbury, 430, 431, 434
 Communal rights in food, 197; property, 198; worship, 197-198
 Conesby (William), will of (1441), 187
 Congresbury, legendary bishop of, 296
 Constables of Aylesbury, 91, 97
 Constantine, coins of discovered at Sleaford, 387
 Constantinople, masons' mark in, 3
 Conveyance of alien priories, deeds necessary for, 256-257
 Cook, will of a (1501), 191
 Cooke (Charles), lord of manor of Little Carlton (1603), 382
 Cooke (Sir Robert), will of (1537), 193
 Co-parceny tenancy in Domesday, 205
 Copenhagen museum, stirrup, Scandinavian, in 533
 Copes, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 448, 449, 454, 475-480
 Corato, town of, in Italy, 418
 Corbeil, abbot of St. Exuperius at, 348
 Cordwayner, fine for keeping a, at Bottesford, 376
 Corinium, road from Silchester to, 266
 Cornwall, succession custom in, 204
 ———, *see* "Totnes"
 Coronation of Henry, son of Henry II. 329; of Richard I. 318, 329-330
 Corrody of monks of Hamble, 253-255, 260-262
 Cotes family, arms of, 137, 174
 Coventry, gild of Holy Trinity, 187
 Crace collection, plan of Westminster Hall in, 11
 Crania, Anglo-Saxon, at Sleaford, 388
 Cremation, Anglo-Saxon, at Sleaford, 386
 Crich, SS. Nicholas and Katherine church, mazars belonging to, 135
 Crichelade, burgesses of, belonging to Aldeborne manor, 208
 Criminal jurisdiction at Wells, 312
 Crismatoria, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 443, 468
 Cromwell (Oliver), opposition to, in London, 28
 Crosses, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 445, 455, 456, 457, 471, 514, 519, 520
 Crown of Robert Guiscard preserved at Bari, 412
 Crown-property and rights, selling of by Richard I. 318
 Croydon, Whitgift's Hospital, mazer belonging to, 164
 Crucifixion, fifteenth century, picture of, 78
 Cruciform fibula, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 391, 392, 393, 395, 396, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405
 Cruets, silver, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 443

Crystal, known as Becket's shoe-buckle, 142
 Cucking-stool in Aylesbury manor, 99
 ——— order for making at Bottesford, 375, 378
 Cudworth, church of, granted to Wells cathedral church, 357
 Cumberland, manor customs in, 206
 Cuming (Mr. H. Syer), mazer belonging to, 137, 174
 Cumton, *villa* of, in possession of Bath cathedral (1179), 354
 Cuppa de mazer, 129
 Curry, North, grant of manor of, to Wells cathedral, 319
 Curry (Dr.), purchase of signet of Queen Mary by, 110

D.

Dale, a division or baulk between common field lands, 377
 Dalton (Richard de), barber of York (1392), 183
 Damask, church vestments of (1466), 37, 38, 39, 41, 43, 44; (1542), 46, 47
 Danes, Wallingford burnt by, 536
 ——— influence of at Malmesbury, 435
 ——— sword-hilt found near Wallingford, 534-536
 Dantre (John), will of (1459), 188
 Darcy (Sir John), payments to, for funeral of Edward II. 221-222
 Davenport (John), vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London (1624), 18, 23
 Debt, actions for in manor court of Aylesbury, 95, 96
 Dedication feast of Wells, 335
 Dedications, church, near Ilam, in Staffordshire, 294
 Deerhurst, Saxon chapel at, 66-71
 Defoe's *History of the Plague*, 33
 Derbyshire, *see* "Crich," "Hope"

VOL. L.

Devonshire, *see* "Aulescomb," "Bovey," "Exeter," "Holcombe Regis," "Lideford"
 Diamond signet of Henrietta Maria, 104-115
 Diana Aricina, shrine of, 58-65
 Dinan (Goce de), grant of to Hamble priory, 253
 Dionysius (St.), relics of, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 453
 Diptych, fifteenth century, of Chevalier Philip Hinckaert, 72-80
 Dish, silver, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 443
 Divus Julius, temple of, at Rome, 235
 Dogs, fines for keeping unlawful, 376
 Domesday, burgesses belonging to manors in, 208
 ——— right of pre-emption mentioned in, 210
 ——— co-parceny tenancy in, 205
 ——— record of Malmesbury, 429, 438; of Sleaford, 383
 Domestic worship, 198
 Doncaster, wills of citizens of, 191
 Dorkemefeld, church and manor of, in possession of Bath cathedral, 354
 Dorsetshire, *see* "Stockwood"
 Douce (Francis), letters of, to Thomas Kerrick, 104-105, 107
 Dover, maison de Dieu, 192
 Dowlishwake, church of, granted to Wells cathedral church, 358
 Dragons, sculptured on stones at Checkley, 289
 Drainage, manor court orders for, *see* "Sanitary"
 Drapenyng, action for, in manor court of Aylesbury, 97
 Drinking bowls or mazers, 129-193
 Duffield (William), canon of York (1452), 188
 Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's*, corrections of, 460-464
 Dur, Caer, British fortress of, 422-424
 Durham, mazers at, 130, 133, 134
 Durham priory, plate in the frater, 187
 Durham, *see* "Buckland," "Finchale"
 Durobrivae, road from to Lincoln, 384
 Dynham (Oliver de), gift of to Wells cathedral church, 356

4 D

E.

Eagles, bronze and steel, found at Silchester, 267
 Earring-beads, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 392, 394, 397
 Earrings, bronze, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389
 ——— silver, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 390, 402
 Earthworms, work of, at Silchester, 271
 Eastwick (John de), painter, *temp.* Edward III. 221
 Ebro, buildings on the, 2, 3
 Edith (St.), pillow belonging to, preserved in St. Paul's cathedral, 445, 471
 Edward the Confessor, buildings of, at Westminster, 5
 Edward I., wardrobe accounts of, quoted, 176
 Edward II., death and burial of, 215-226
 Edward III., seizure of alien priories by, 254, 256
 Eols, basket used for catching, 374
 Egidio of Viterbo, cardinal, seal of, 124, 127
 Eigg (island of), Viking sword found in, 535
 Elding, small sticks for fuel, 378, 380
 Elephant, sculptured on stones in Scotland, 292
 ——— pillar supports in Italian churches, 410
 Elizabeth (Queen), bedchamber of, at Westminster, 15
 Ely, mason's mark in cathedral, 3
 Embroidery on church vestments (1402), 454-455; (1466) 37, 38, 41; (1542), 47
 ——— Carolingian period, ornamentation on, 289
 Enfield (John de), payments to, at funeral of Edward II. 217
 Engraving, early examples of, preserved at Bari, 413
 Enichmus, a precious stone, 524
 Episcopal revenue, 326
 Epworth church, mazer belonging to, 165
 Erkenwald (St.), shrine of, at St. Paul's cathedral, 444, 456, 469

Ermine Street, course of, in Lincolnshire, 369
 Essex, junior right in, 214
 Essex, *see* "Ardleigh," "Berling," "Colchester," "Hornchurch," "Prittlewell," "Saffron Walden," "Shalford," "Tillingham," "Waltham"
 Essex (Geoffrey Fitz Piers, earl of), 82, 85
 Essex (Henry Bouchier, earl of), possession of Aylesbury by, 86
 Este (Hippolito d'), cardinal, seal of, 126-127
 Eayngwald (Robert), will of (1443), 187
 Ethelbert (king), shrine of, at St. Paul's cathedral, 445, 470
 Ethelbert of Kent, superstition of, as to house, 198
 EVANS (JOHN, D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., President), on a Danish sword-hilt found near Wallingford, 534-536
 Evercrez, church of, in possession of Bath cathedral (1179), 354
 Excavations in Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Sleaford, 383-406
 Exchequer, court of, at Westminster, 13
 Exeter, All Hallows church, mazer at, 162-163
 ——— St. Petrock's church, mazer belonging to, 154
 Exuperius (St.), 348
 Eyes, diseases of, sapphire used for, 444, 469

F.

Fairford church, mazer belonging to, 156
 Fairs, grant of, to Wells, 311
 Family, house inalienable from, 198
 ——— lands, sacredness of, 204
 ——— property and status, 198-199
 Fan, peacock's feathers, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 452
 Farnese (Cardinal Alexander), preservation of monuments at Rome by, 236
 Fasti capitolini at Rome, 235-239
 Father, retirement of, in favour of son, 203

- Fayrfax (John), will of (1393), 183
- Feast, the seeking, a municipal custom at Malmesbury, 434
- Feasts, rural, archaic origin of, 197
- Female, kinship reckoned through, 213
- Festivals, church, in London, 22
- Fibulae, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 388-406
- bronze, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 398
- Fieschi (Manuel), letter from, on escape of Edward II. 216
- Fighting, presentments for, in manor of Bottesford, 373
- Finchale priory, mazer belonging to in (1311), 176
- Finger-rings, bronze, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 399, 403
- silver, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 391, 402
- Fire at Canterbury cathedral (1174), 303
- Fishing, manor presentments against, 374, 380; *see* "Eels"
- Fitz Geoffrey (John), lord of Aylesbury (1275), 83, 92
- Fitzherbert (Herbert), grant of to Hamble priory, 253
- Fitzjocelin (Reginald, bishop of Bath, 1174-1191), his episcopate and his share in building the church at Wells, 295
- Fitz John (Richard), lord of Aylesbury (1297), 83, 92
- Fitz Piers (Geoffrey), grant of Aylesbury to, 82, 92
- Fitz Piers (John), lord of Aylesbury (1227), 83, 90, 92
- Fitzurse (Robert), grant of to church for murder of Becket, 317
- Fitzwilliam (Lady Isabella), will of, 1348, 182
- Foliage scroll, on sculptured stones, 293
- Folk-lore, *see* "Hearth Worship," "Medicine," "Myth"
- Font, church, in Ilam, 294
- Fontaine collection, mazer from the, 168
- Food, common rights of, 197
- Fools, feast of, staff for the at St. Paul's cathedral, 446, 448, 472-473, 480
- Fordwich, right of pre-emption at, 210
- Forests submerged, found in Lincolnshire, 369
- Forfeiture of lands to the lord, in Bottesford manor, 373
- Fornellis (Alan de), grant of to Wells cathedral church, 357
- FORTNUM (C. DRURY E., V.P.S.A.), on some further notice of the diamond signet of Henrietta Maria, queen of Charles I.; of the king's diamond; and of the sapphire signet believed to be that of Mary, queen of William III. 104-117
- on the seal of Andrea de Valle, A.D. 1517, with remarks on some other cardinals' seals of that period, ascribed to Lautizio of Perugia and to Cellini, 118-128
- Forty-eights, a section of Malmesbury corporation, 427, 430, 431
- Forum, Roman, excavated at Silchester, 267
- Founce of a mazer, 131
- France, Henry II.'s relations with, 298
- Franchises, municipal, at Wells, 312, 350-352
- Franks (Mr. A. W.), mazers belonging to, 137, 158, 164, 167, 168
- Frederick II. Emperor, castle built by, near Bari, 417-418
- Freedom, municipal, succession to by kinship, 206
- Freehold tenants, presentment of, at manor courts, 372; orders against in Bottesford manor court, 380
- Frere (Everard), of London (1460-1483), 172
- FRESHFIELD (EDWIN, LL.D., V.P.), on masons' marks at Westminster Hall, 1-4
- on some remarks upon the Book of Records and History of the parish of St. Stephen, Coleman Street, in the city of London, 17-57
- on certain churches on the eastern coast of Italy, 407-420
- Friskney, All Saints church, mural paintings in, 281-286

Frounce of a mazer, 131
 Fuel, manor court orders for gathering at Bot-
 tesford, 378, 379
 Funeral oblations, rights of, in India, 211
 Fustian, church vestments of (1466), 38, 41;
 (1542), 46, 47; at St. Paul's cathedral, 521
 Fylfot ornamentation on Anglo-Saxon fibula, 386

G.

- Gannogiatore in manor of Aylesbury, 103
 Gardener (John), will of (1506), 191
 Garnet ornaments, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at
 Sleaford, 403
 ——— ring, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sle-
 aford, 400
 Garrard (Robert), will of (1533), 191
 Gatehouse, keeper of, at Westminster, 528-529
 Gates, Roman, at Silchester, 266
 Gatinton, land at, in possession of Bath cathe-
 dral (1179), 354
 Gaulish tombs, inscriptions on, 202
 Gavelkind, custom of, 195, 211, 212
 Geese, keeping of, regulations for at Bottesford,
 376
 Gems, *see* "Diamond," "Enichmus," "Garnet,"
 "Jacinth," "Monile," "Peridot," "Sap-
 phire," "Turquoise"
 Geology of the Ancholme Valley, 368
 George, the, worn by Charles I. on the scaffold,
 114
 George (St.) and Dragon, representation of, 171
 German law of inheritance, archaic, 205
 German (Samuel), vicar of St. Stephen's, Cole-
 man Street, London (1622), 22
 Germany, Henry II.'s relations with, 298
 Gerrelin alias Hinckaert (Chevalier), miraculous
 incident in life of, 77
 Giffard (William, bishop of Winchester, 1098-
 1128), grant by, 251
 Guild of St. Mary, Boston, 191
 ——— of Holy Trinity, Coventry, 187
 Guild of St. Francis at Lynn, 188
 ——— of Prittlewell, 193
 ——— *see* "Guilds"
 Gilt clasps, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford,
 396, 400, 402, 403, 404, 405
 ——— pin, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford,
 402
 Girdle-hangers, bronze, Anglo-Saxon, discovered
 at Sleaford, 399, 406
 ——— ivory, discovered at Sleaford, 386, 387,
 393, 398, 402
 Gist, taking to, fines for, at Bottesford, 375
 Glasgow, prehistoric boats found near, 370
 Glass beads, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford,
 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 397, 398, 399,
 400, 401, 402, 403, 404
 ——— window, Roman, discovered at Silchester,
 273
 Glastonbury, abbey of, 308-310
 ——— bishopric of, in connection with Bath,
 305
 Glaunvill (Hugh de), expenditure of, respecting
 Edward II. 217, 218, 221
 Glenferness, sculptured stone at, 292
 Gloucestershire, *see* "Bristol," "Cirencester,"
 "Deerhurst," "Fairford"
 Gloves belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 447,
 456, 474
 Godwin (Francis), canon of Wells, bishop of
 Landaff, 296
 Gold cloth belonging to St. Paul's cathedral,
 456
 ——— leaf, use of, *temp.* Edward III. 221
 Goldsmiths' work, *temp.* Edward III. 444
 ——— sixteenth century, 122
 GOMME (G. LAURENCE, F.S.A.), on archaic con-
 ceptions of property in relation to the laws
 of succession, and their survival in England,
 195-214
 ——— on the history of Malmesbury as a
 village community, 421-438
 Gonzaga of Mantua (cardinal), seal of, 126
 Goodwin (John), vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman
 Street, London (1633), 19, 23, 24, 26-27, 32

Grammar school at Wells, 326
 Graveyard on north side of church at Hamble, 251
 GREEN (EVERARD, F.S.A.), remarks on the fifteenth century diptych of the Chevalier Philip Hinckaert, chastelain de Tervueren in Brabant, 72-80
 Grey Friars, monastery founded at Aylesbury, 84
 Grocer, will of (1437), 185
 Guienne (Robert de), merchant of Bristol (1352), 182
 Guilds, archaic nature of, 206; workmen's, twelfth century, 3; *see* "Gilds"
 Gurney (Thomas), murder of Edward II. by, 219
 Guy of Warwick, representation of, on mazer, 140-142

H.

Hairy book-covers, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 451, 497
 Hamble, alien priory of St. Andrew at, 251-262
 Hamerton (Sir Richard), will of (1480), 189
 Hamey (Dr. Baldwin), presentation of ring to Charles II. by, 113
 Hammer, use of, for killing the aged and infirm, 201
 Hampshire, *see* "Allington," "Hamble," "Hound," "Itchen," "Mottisfont," "Silchester," "Soberton," "Southampton," "Winchester"
 Hampton Court, Wren's drawings of, 9
 Hanaps de mazer, 129
 Harbledown hospital, mazars belonging to, 137, 138-143, 175
 Harpetre (East), church of, granted to Wells cathedral church, 357
 Harris, island of, joint ownership in, 205
 Harvy (Alice), will of (1538), 193
 Haselbury, church of, granted to Wells cathedral church, 357
 Hastang (Robert de), payments to, at funeral of Edward II. 217
 Hawking, love of, by ecclesiastics, twelfth century, 298
 Hawkins (Rev. W. Bentinck), signet-ring belonging to, 110
 Hayward of Aylesbury, 102
 Hearth worship, 198
 Hebbels, a wooden bridge, 375
 Hedge (John), will of (1504), 191
 Helmets, fifteenth century, 285
 Hemp, drying of, in chimneys, fined at Bottesford, 376, 378
 Hemp dykes at Bottesford, 374-375
 Henrietta Maria (Queen), signet-ring of, 104-112
 Henry II. charters of, relative to monks of Hamble, 252; confirming pensions to monks of Tyrone, 252, 259; to Wells, 315
 — relations of, with the Continent, 298, 301-302
 — and Becket, 297-300, 302
 Henry, son of Henry II. 314; coronation of, 329
 Henry IV. royal treasury of, mazars in the (1399), 184
 Henry V. alien priories dissolved by, 256
 — plate belonging to, 132; in the royal treasury, 186
 Henry VI. regalia, &c. of, 186
 Henry VII. manor rolls of Aylesbury *temp.* 89
 Henstridge, church of, belonging to Wells cathedral church, 356
 Heraldic ornaments at St. Paul's cathedral, 455, 502
 Hereford and Essex (Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of), mazer belonging to, 176
 Herefordshire, *see* "Orleton"
 Hide, acreage of the, twelfth century, 327
 Hide of land granted, twelfth century, 251, 259
 Hildersley (Mr. Alderman), actions of, against Charles I. 27, 31-32
 Hinckaert (Chevalier Philip), diptych of, 72-80
 Hindu law parallel to English custom, 432, 434
 Hippolytus, foundation of the Artemisium by, 60

- Hiwis, church of, in possession of Bath cathedral (1179), 354
- Holcombe Regis, church of, granted to Wells cathedral church, 358
- Holme (Henry), will of (1471), 189
- Homestead, sacredness of, 204-209, 212
 ——— primitive, survival of 'at Malmesbury, 434
- Homilies, books of, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 451, 497
- HOPE (W. H. ST. JOHN), on the English medieval drinking bowls called mazers, 129-193
- Hope, sculptured stone at, 294
- Horace, description of journey from Rome to Brindisi by, 408, 420
- Horn ring, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 391
- Hornchurch, mazer belonging to parish church, 135, 193
- Horns, ivory, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1295), 452
- Horse-shoe pattern figured on Anglo-Saxon fibula, 390
- Hottentots, custom of killing aged and infirm amongst, 201
- Hound, chapel of, grant of to Hamble priory 252
- Hounds, right of keeping, granted to bishop of Wells, 316
- House, primitive land rights attached to, 207
 ——— repairs, orders for, at Bottesford manor court, 379, 380
 ——— sacredness of the, 198
 ——— warming, archaic origin of, 197
- House-mother, archaic position of, 208
- Houses, beehive, in Italy, 407
 ——— half-timbered, at Deerhurst, 67
 ——— (Roman), excavations of, at Silchester, 266-272
- Hugh of Avalon, appointment of, as prior at Witham, 301-302, 308
- Hull, wills of inhabitants of, 189
- Human sacrifices, offered in the Artemisium, 60
- Humber, prehistoric condition of the, 369
- Hundreds, corporation of Malmesbury divided into, 427, 434, 435
- Hunting, right of, granted to bishop of Wells, *temp.* Richard I. 316
- Hyrsell, a footpath, 376
- I.
- Ilam, sculptured stones at, 286-294
- Illuminated MSS., representation of Ascension in, 283
- Images, inventory of, in St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London (1466), 40-41
- Imperial stuffs, 485
- Incense-boats, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 443, 467
- India, joint rights of food in, 197
 ——— position of house-mother in, 208
 ——— primogeniture in, 213
- Ine (laws of), pre-emption in, 209
- Ingelbourne Castle, near Malmesbury, 423, 424
- Inheritance, laws of, *see* "Succession"
- Inn sign, the "Three Cups," in Buckingham, 85
- Innholders, sanctioned by manor court of Aylesbury, 96, 103
- Innocent II. bull of, relative to priory at Hamble, 252
- Inscriptions on mazers, 131, 133
 ——— (Roman), found near Lake of Nemi, 62-63
 ——— (Saxon), discovered at Deerhurst, 69, 70
- Insowlynge, outfall of a ditch or drain, 374
- Inventories, early, mazers mentioned in, 176, 185, 188, 189, 191
 ——— of St. Paul's cathedral, London, 489-524
 ——— of church goods of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, 19-20, 34-48
- Ipswich (college of), plate belonging to, 191
- Ireland, children called by mother's name in, 213

Ireland, right of pre-emption in, 210
 ——— division of property in, 211-212
 ——— succession customs in, 204, 205
 Irish MS. Psalter, at St. John's College, Cambridge, 292
 Irish saint, Cataldus, buried at Taranto, 417
 Iron axe, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 403
 ——— buckle, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 390, 391, 394, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404
 ——— key, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 396, 397, 399, 400, 404, 406
 ——— knives, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404
 ——— rings, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 390, 395, 396, 397, 402
 ——— spear-heads, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 390, 391, 392, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406
 ——— stirrup, Scandinavian, found in Thames, 533; in Witham, 533
 ——— sword, Danish, found near Wallingford, 534-536; Scandinavian, found in London, 530-532
 ——— tweezers, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 405
 Ironmongers' Company, London, mazers belonging to, 160-161
 Isabella (Queen of Edward II.), burial of, 221
 Italy, Henry II.'s relation with, 298
 ——— eastern coast, churches on the, 407-420
 Itchen, navigation of the, 254
 Ivory chatelaines discovered at Sleaford, 386-387, 402
 Ixworth, will of inhabitant of, 191

J.

Jacinth, a variety of the garnet, 490
 Jewels at the shrine of St. Erkenwald, St. Paul's cathedral, 444
 ——— of Charles I. 114
 Joanna, representation of, at Friskney church, 285
 Jocelin, bishop of Bath and Wells, 313; buildings by, 332-345
 John (king), proposed marriage of when prince, 302
 ——— charters of, to Malmesbury, 438
 John (St.), painting of, fifteenth century, 78
 John (St.) Baptist, representations of, 126, 165
 Joseph, representation of, on seal, 123
 Junior right, custom of, 195, 211-214

K.

Kafirs of Natal, common rights of food amongst, 197
 ——— succession of youngest son amongst, 213
 Kari (Robert de), grant by, to Wells cathedral church, 327
 Kensington palace, Wren's drawings of, 9
 Kent, junior right in, 214
 ——— see "Bigberry Hill," "Canterbury," "Dover," "Fordwich," "Harbledown," "Rochester"
 Kerrick (Thomas), letters from Francis Douce, 104-105
 Kettell (Sir Richard), vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London (1563), 18
 Kexby (William de), precentor of York (1410), 185
 Keys, iron, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 396, 397, 399, 400, 404
 ——— fragment of, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 391
 King, duty of entertaining, in Ireland, 211

Kingsbere, church of, in possession of Bath cathedral (1179), 334
 Kinross, succession custom in, 204
 Kinship, the basis of archaic society, 195-214
 ——— basis of, for membership of Malmesbury municipality, 431-432, 433
 KIRBY (THOMAS F., M.A.), on the alien priory of St. Andrew Hamble, and its transfer to Winchester college in 1891, 251-262
 Knives, iron, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404
 Kysby (Dr.), imprisonment of at Westminster, *temp.* Eliz. 529

L.

Labour, travelling gangs of workmen in twelfth century, 3
 Lace, church vestments of (1542), 47
 Lagoon, pre-historic, in Lincolnshire, 369
 Lake dwellings at Möriegen, ornaments from, 386
 Lambert family, mazer belonging to, 175
 Lambeth library, books in once belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 452
 Lameia, church of, granted to Wells cathedral church, 358
 Lancashire, manor customs in, 206
 ——— *see* "Bury," "Preston," "Salford"
 Land, acre of, at Malmesbury, 434-435
 ——— hide of, granted, twelfth century, 251
 ——— use of the term at Malmesbury, 435-436
 Landholders of Malmesbury, 430, 431, 434
 Landholding at Malmesbury, 433-434
 Langton (Eufemia, lady), will of (1463), 188
 Lathum (John), canon of Beverley (1476), 189
 Laurence (St.), ribs preserved at St. Paul's cathedral, 445, 470
 Lantizio of Perugia, seals ascribed to, 118, 122, 125, 127
 Laws, Anglo-Saxon, of pre-emption, 209
 Lead mining, grant of, to bishop of Wells, *temp.* Ric. I. 316
 Leap, a long wicker basket, 374
 Leather fragments, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 391, 394
 Lee (Roger de la), prior of Canterbury (1234-1244), 177
 Leeke (William), vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London (1459), 18
 Leet (court), of Aylesbury, representatives to Parliament returned by, 88
 Leet-ales, archaic origin of, 197
 Legal actions in manor court of Aylesbury, 94
 Letters of Charles I. 112-113; of Charles II. 113-115
 Leycester (Richard), grant of rent-charge by, 253
 Lichfield cathedral, architecture of the tower, 14
 Lideford, church of, granted to Wells cathedral church, 358
 Lidiard, church and *villa* of, in possession of Bath cathedral (1179), 354
 Ligorio (Pirrho), MSS. of, 248, 250
 Lincoln, right of pre-emption in, 210
 ——— stirrup, Scandinavian, found at, 533
 ——— Roman road to, from Castor, 384
 ——— cathedral, architecture of the tower, 14; inventory of, 441
 Lincolnshire, *see* "Ancholme," "Boston," "Bottesford," "Brigg," "Ermine Street," "Epworth," "Friskney," "Lindsey," "Sleaford," "South Kyme"
 Lindsey, lands called Warnott rents in, 371
 Lingard (Dr.), history of, on death of Edward II. 216
 Linnen, church vestments of (1466), 40, 43, 44
 Little Carlton, manor court of, lord fined in, 382
 Liturgy of St. Paul's, 452
 Lombardy, influence of, in twelfth century, 298
 Londinium, road from Silchester to, 266
 London, armourers' and braziers' company, 137
 ——— British Museum, *see* "British"
 ——— craft of founders, mazers belonging to, 190
 ——— early watching duties at, 91

London, House of Lords and Commons, Wren's drawings of, 9
 — Ironmongers' company, mazers belonging to, 160-161
 — Kensington palace, Wren's drawings of, 9
 — Lambeth Palace Library, 452
 — Merchant Taylors' company, mazers belonging to (1491), 189, 191
 — St. Gregory's church, inventory of, 463-464
 — St. Giles' church, Cripplegate, mazer belonging to, 167; verger's staff in, 73
 — St. James's palace, Wren's drawings of, 9
 — St. Margaret Pattens church, mazers belonging to, 134
 — St. Paul's cathedral, inventories of, 439-524; mazers belonging to (1295), 176; (1402), 185; Wren's drawings of, 9
 — St. Stephen, Coleman Street, parish books of, 17-57
 — South Kensington museum, mazer at, 162
 — Thames at, iron sword, Scandinavian, found in, 530-532
 — Westminster, standing cup of the city of, 527-529
 — Westminster Hall, 1-16
 "Long Meg" of Westminster, 529
 Lord, fining of, 381-382; forfeiture of lands to the, in Bottesford manor, 373; position of, at Aylesbury, 89, 98
 Lorenzo (St.), representation of, on seal, 120
 Louis VII. king of France, charter by, 348
 Lovels of Cary, grants by to Wells cathedral church, 327, 357, 359
 Lovinton, church of, granted to Wells cathedral church, 327
 Low (Robert), will of (1454), 188
 Lumley (Sir John Savile), excavations by, on supposed site of Artemisium, 58-65
 Lynn, gild of St. Francis at, 188

M.

Magdalene, painting of, fifteenth century, 78; representation of, at Friskney church, 285
 Magi, representation of, on seal, 123
 Malmesbury as a village community, 421-438
 Maltravers (John), custody of Edward II. by, 216, 217, 218, 221
 Manor of Aylesbury, 81-103; of Hamble, descent of, from the hide, 252
 — customs showing joint ownership, 206
 — records of Bottesford, 371-382
 — rolls of Aylesbury, 89
 Manors, burgesses belonging to, 208
 Manuscripts, Carolingian period, ornamentation on, 289; Irish ornamentation on, 292
 — illuminated, representation of Ascension in, 283; preserved at Bari, 413
 — at St. Paul's cathedral, London, 441
 — of Pirrho Ligorio, 248, 250
 Maple, use of for mazers, 129
 Marble, use of, in ancient Rome, 228-231, 235
 Mare (Thomas de la), canon of York (1358), 182
 Mark or boundary, at Bottesford manor, 373
 Markets at Wells, 311, 350
 Marks used for signatures, 373-374
 — masons', at Westminster Hall, 1-4
 — merchant's, on mazer at St. Giles' church, Cripplegate, 167
 — sheep, at Bottesford manor, 373
 Mars, sacrum of, at Rome, 240
 Mary, wife of Cleophas, painting of, fifteenth century, 78; representation of, at Friskney church, 285
 Mary Magdalene (St.), painting of, fifteenth century, 78; representation of, at Friskney church, 285
 Mary Queen of Scots, signets of, 105-109
 Mary II. (Queen), sapphire signet of, 104-112
 Masonry, examples of, in ancient Rome, 231
 Masons' marks at Westminster Hall, 1-4
 Mawle, the holy, custom, 201-202
 Maxentius, coins of, discovered at Sleaford, 387

- Mayor (Lord) of London, interference in election of, *temp.* Charles I. 24
- Mazars, medieval English, 129-193; belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1402), 455, 514
- Meadow, common, at Bottesford manor, 374
—— at Malmesbury, 428
- Measures of Land, *see* "Acre," "Hide"
- Meaux abbey, mazars belonging to (1396), 184
- Medici (Giulio de), cardinal, seal of, 120-121, 125, 127
- Medici (Hippolito de'), cardinal, seal of, 121, 127
- Medicine (folk-), sapphire used for diseases of the eye, 444, 469
- Meg (Long), of Westminster, 529
- Meildulf, settlement of, at Malmesbury, 428, 424
- Mellitus (St.), arm of, preserved in St. Paul's cathedral, 445, 470, 471
—— shrine of, at St. Paul's cathedral, 444, 470
- Merchants' mark on mazer at St. Giles' church, Cripplegate, 167
- MICKLETHWAITE (J. T., F.S.A.), a note on the Hall of William Rufus at Westminster, 5-8
- Middlesex, junior right in, 214
—— *see* "Hampton Court," "London"
- MIDDLETON (JOHN HENRY, M.A., F.S.A.), on a Saxon chapel at Deerhurst, Gloucestershire, 66-71
- Mill, *see* "Molendinum"
- Minerva, representation of, on Roman intaglio, 404
- Mining, lead, grant of, to Bishop of Wells, *temp.* Richard I. 316
- Mir (Russian), members of, in towns, 208
- Missale, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 451, 452, 499
—— *see* "Salisbury"
- Mitres, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 446, 456, 473, 515
- Molendinum, manor court presentments concerning, 94-95
- Molfetta, town of in Italy, 414-415, 419
- Monasteries, *see* "Alien," "Augustinian," "Benedictine," "Carthusian," "Cistercian," "Cluniac," "Grey Friars"
- Monasticon of Somerset, *temp.* bishop Reginald, 360
- Monile, a jewelled ornament, 514
- MOORE (STUART ARCHIBALD, F.S.A.), documents relating to the death of king Edward II. 215-226
- More (Bertrand de la), payments to at funeral of Edward II. 217, 220
- More (Thomas de la), history of on death of Edward II. 215, 219-220
- Morses belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 449, 481
- Morton (Robert), inventory of (1448), 188
- Morton (Thomas), canon of York (1448), 187
- Moss, forming the caulking of prehistoric ship, 365
- Mother-right, influence of on laws of succession, 213
- Mottisfont, bronze stirrup, Scandinavian, found at, 532-533
- Mountford (Katherine), will of (1498), 191
- Mount Sorel (James of), grant of to Wells cathedral church, 357
- Municipal boroughs, right of pre-emption in, 210
—— freedoms, succession to, by kinship, 206
—— history of Wells, 311
—— organization of Malmesbury, 427-438
- MUNK (DR.), letter from on signet belonging to Cardinal Wiseman, 106-107
- Mural paintings at Friskney church, 281-286
- Murimuth (Adam), chronicle of, 215, 220
- Murrae, 129
- Music-books belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1402), 457-458, 523
- Myths, *see* "Ægil," "Arthurian"

N.

- "Naked Fields," place so called at Checkley, 286
 Names, twelfth century, 313
 ——— giving of, to mazers, 133
 Naviculae, silver, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 443, 467
 Nawton (John), will of (1436), 186
 Necklets, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 387
 ——— bead, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403
 Nemi (Lake), excavations near, 58-65
 Nemorensis, rex, office of at Rome, 60
 New Zealanders, house-life amongst the, 198
 Newark, wills of inhabitants of, 190
 Newbury, site of Spinae near, 266
 Newcastle Society of Antiquaries museum, spear-head in, 533
 Newport (William de), rector of Wearmouth (1366), 182
 Newton (John de), treasurer of York (1414), 185
 Nicholas (St.), feast of celebrated at St. Paul's cathedral, 447
 Nicholas of Myra (St.), shrine of at Bari, 411-412
 Nicholaus (St.), representation of, on seal, 124
 NICHOLS (F. M., F.S.A.), on some remarks upon the Regia, the Atrium Vestae, and the original locality of the Fasti Capitolini, 227-250
 Norfolk, junior right in, 214
 ——— see "Lynn," "Norwich," "Santon"
 Norham, land at, granted to Wells cathedral church, 359
 Norman architecture in Italy, 409-419
 ——— occupation of Italy, 408
 Normandy, masons' marks on buildings in, 3
 North Curry, manor of, granted to Wells cathedral church, 359
 North side of church, graveyard on the, 251
 Northamptonshire, see "Braunston," "Sawtre"
 Northumberland, see "Newcastle," "Norham"

- Norway, prehistoric boat found in, 370
 Norwich, wills of inhabitants of, 191
 Nottingham, right of pre-emption at, 210
 ——— Scandinavian swords found near, 532
 Nottinghamshire, see "Newark," "Southwell"
 Notyngnam (John), will of (1437), 186
 Numa, buildings of in the Regia at Rome, 241
 Nunneries in Somersetshire, 360
 Nuremberg, masons' mark in St. Sibald's church, 3

O.

- Oak trees, size of, in England, 367
 Obits kept at St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London, 22
 Ocle (William de), murder of Edward II. by, 219
 Officers, village, payment to by land, 438
 ——— see "Affuratores," "Ale-tasters," "Constables," "Hayward"
 Old-people, custom of killing in primitive society, 201
 Open-field system, archaic mode of succession to the strips, 207
 Ops Consiva, sacrarium of at Rome, 240
 Orleton, manor custom of, 208
 Ormond (Earls of), possession of Aylesbury manor by, 83-87, 92
 Ornamentation on sculptured stones at Checkley, 286-294
 ——— see "Fylfot," "Horschoe," "Swastika," "Triquetrae"
 Osier wattle-work in Saxon architecture, 68
 Ostrich feather, badge of Plantagenets, 508
 Oswald (St.), arm and finger bone of, preserved in St. Paul's cathedral, 445, 470, 471
 Osyth (St.), arm of, preserved in St. Paul's cathedral, 445, 471
 Oxford, All Souls college, mazers at, 136, 137, 150-152, 155, 161, 166
 ——— Bodleian library, MS. at, 250

Oxford, Oriel college, mazer belonging to, 158-159
 Oyster shells, discovered at Silchester, 272
 Oysters, payment of, by monks of Hamble priory, 254

P.

- Painted chamber at Westminster, 5
 Painter, will of (1365), 182
 Painting, fifteenth century, in diptych, 72-80
 ——— *temp.* Edward III. 221
 ——— mural, at Friskney church, 281-286
 Pakington (Robert), acquisition of Aylesbury by, 87
 Palatine Apollo, temple of, at Rome, 235
 Parish books of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London, 17-57
 PARKER (JOHN, F.S.A.), on the manor of Aylesbury, 81-103
 Parliament, return of members to, by Aylesbury 88
 Parochial institutions, importance of, 24
 Party badge, seventh century, 293
 Pastoral staff of Ralph Flambard, bishop of Durham, 533
 Pasture, common, at Bottesford manor, 372, 373, 375, 379, 382; at Malmesbury, 427, 428
 Paul (St.), representation of, on seal, 119, 120
 Pavements, tessellated, discovered at Silchester, 268, 269, 270, 271, 273, 274, 276
 Pawle (William), vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London (1457), 18
 PEACOCK (EDWARD, F.S.A.), notes from the records of the manor of Bottesford, Lincolnshire, 371-382
 Peas, gathering of, orders of manor courts concerning, 378
 Peckham (Robert), monk of Rochester, 168
 Pedigree of Butlers, Earls of Ormond, 92
 Pendants, bronze, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 393, 397
 Pendants, bronze gilt, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389
 ——— Roman coins used as, by Anglo-Saxons, 387, 391, 393, 399, 401, 403
 ——— silver, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 391, 405
 Pennington (Mr. Alderman), action of, against Charles I. 23-30
 Pepys (S.), visit of, to Saffron Walden, 163
 Perci (Gilbert de), grant of, to Wells cathedral church, 357
 Pereson (Thomas), sub-dean of York (1490), 189
 Peridot, a precious stone, 524
 Peru, ornamentation of men and animals in, 294
 Peter (St.), representation of, on seal, 119, 120; at Friskney, 282
 Peter of Blois, as the deacon of Bath (1175-1190), 314, 320
 Peters (Hugh), trial of, as a regicide, 31-32
 Pews, antiquity of, in London, 22
 Phialae, silver, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 443, 466
 Philip (St.), the apostle, figure of, fifteenth century, 74, 76
 ——— relics of, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 453
 Photographs of Westminster hall, 2, 3, 9
 Pickering (Maurice), keeper of gatehouse, Westminster, sixteenth century, 528-529
 Pig, scapula of, in Anglo-Saxon grave at Sleaford, 395
 Pigs, orders concerning in manor court, 373, 377
 Pillory, in Aylesbury manor, 99
 Pilton, church of, 309; belonging to the church at Wells, 356
 Pin, bronze, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 390, 394, 397, 399, 404, 406
 ——— gilt, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 402
 Pix, silver, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 443, 468
 Place names, different methods of spelling Aylesbury, 81
 Plague, evidences of, in London (1665), 33

- Plans of Westminster hall, 9-11
 Plate belonging to Henry V. 132
 ——— (church), inventory of (1466), 34-35;
 (1542), 45-46
 ——— *see* "Censers," "Chalices," "Comb,"
 "Crismatoria," "Crosses," "Desk," "Ma-
 zers," "Mitres," "Phialae," "Pix," "Salt,"
 "Thuribula"
 Plumpton (Robert), will of (1506), 191
 Poisoning, practice of, in England, *temp.* Edward
 III. 220
 Poma, silver, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral,
 (1245), 443, 467-468
 Pomœrium, position of the, at Silchester, 280
 Pontes, road from Silchester to, 266
 Pontifex Maximus, house of, at Rome, 241-243
 Porcelain beads, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at
 Sleaford, 396
 Postumus, coins of, discovered at Sleaford, 403
 Potesgrave (Richard de), payments to, at funeral
 of Edward II. 217
 Pottery, Roman, discovered near Sleaford, 384
 ——— *see* "Urns"
 Pre-emption, right of, 209-210
 Prehistoric remains, *see* "Boat"
 Presme, a term used of precious stones, 524
 Preston (John), bucler-maker, of York (1400),
 185
 Preston, right of pre-emption at, 210
 PRICE (F. G. HILTON, F.S.A.), further notes upon
 excavations at Silchester, 263-280
 Priest's dress, sculptured on stone at Sandbach,
 293
 Primogeniture, custom of, 195, 210, 212
 Priors of Hamble, list of, 258
 Priory, alien, of St. Andrew at Hamble, 251-262
 Prisca (St.), representation of, on seal, 119
 Prittlewell, gild or fraternity of, 193
 Privy, common, in St. Stephen's, Coleman Street,
 London (1486-1507), 22
 Processions at St. Paul's cathedral, 459
 ——— in London (1243), 492
 Property, archaic conceptions of, 195-214
 ——— insecurity of, *temp.* Henry II. 315
- PULLAN (R. P., F.S.A.), Notes on recent excava-
 tions on the supposed site of the Artemisium
 near the Lake of Nemi, made by Sir John
 Savile Lumley, G.C.B. 58-65
 Punjab, right of pre-emption in, 209
 Punson (Alured de), grant of, to Wells cathedral,
 328, 359
- R.
- Race influences on constitution of Malmesbury
 Corporation, 435
 Radcliffe, borough and market granted to, *temp.*
 Richard I. 316
 Rains cloth, 506
 Rapin, history of, on death of Edward II. 215
 Ravenna sculpture, ornamentation on, 289
 READ (C. H., F.S.A.) on a sword of Scandinavian
 make found in London and bronze stirrup
 of the same period found near Romsey,
 530-533
 Rebus, device formed from, on name of Hinck-
 aert, 73-74
 Reeds used in church ceremonial, 442
 Refuge, temple of at Rome, 60
 Regalia, &c. of Henry VI. 186
 ——— of Scotland, 111
 Regia at Rome, rebuilding of the, 233, 235;
 uses and character of, 236, 240-242, 245-250
 Regicides, trial of, 29-32
 Registers, parish, of St. Stephen, Coleman Street,
 London, 18
 Relics, at St. Paul's cathedral, 445, 453, 470
 Requests, Court of, at Westminster, 5
 Resurrection, representation of at Friskney, 283
 Revenue, episcopal, 326
 Rex nemorensis, office of, at Rome, 60
 Rex, use of the title in ancient Rome, 241
 Reynes, *see* "Rains"
 Rhyming formula used at Malmesbury, 433
 Richard I. captivity of, 358
 ——— charter by, to Wells, 315, 316 356-359

- Richard I. coronation of, 318, 329-330
 Richard II. alteration of Westminster hall by, 12, 13-14
 Richard de Ely, shrine of at St. Paul's cathedral, 445, 470
 Richard (Thomas), will of (1488), 189
 Rings, bronze, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 393, 394, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 406
 — iron, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 390, 395, 396, 397, 402
 — horn, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 391
 — silver, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 391, 402
 — pontifical, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 456
 — of Queen Mary II. 104-115
 River navigation in Hants, 254
 — ordinances concerning the, in Aylesbury manor, 99
 Rivers, *see* "Ancholme," "Clyde," "Ebro," "Humber," "Itchen," "Thames," "Witham"
 Roads, Roman, in Lincolnshire, 369-370, 384
 — *see* "Ermine Street"
 Roadways at Bottesford, orders concerning, 379, 380
 Robert Guiscard, crown of, preserved at Bari, 412
 Rochester, mazer belonging to monks at, 134
 — Benedictine priory, mazer belonging to, 168
 — wills of inhabitants of, 187
 Roges (Lady Alicia de), grant of, to bishop of Wells, 317
 Romanus (St.), day of, 334-335
 Romara (William de, Earl of Lincoln), grant of, to bishop of Wells, 317
 Rome, Artemisium (the), excavations on supposed site of, 58-65
 — Regia, Atrium Vestæ, and Fasti Capitolini, 227-250
 — wall of Servius Tullus, masons' mark on, 3
 Roman basilica excavated at Silchester, 267
 — canal near Sleaford, 384
 — coins discovered near Sleaford, 384, 387, 390, 391, 393, 399, 401, 403, 404
 — fibula discovered in Anglo-Saxon grave, 403
 — forum excavated at Silchester, 267
 — intaglio discovered in Anglo-Saxon grave, 404
 — pavements, ornamentation on, 289
 — pottery discovered near Sleaford, 384
 — remains at Caer Dur, 422; at Silchester, 263-280
 — road to Lincoln, 384; in Lincolnshire, 369-370
 Romulus, inscription of the triumph of, discovered at Rome, 246
 Rowe (Colonel Owen), one of Charles I.'s judges, 26-31
 Russia, joint rights of the community in, 197
 — nomad family groups in, 200
 — town population of, belong to the mir, 208
 Ruvo, town of, in Italy, 418
- S.
- Sacrament, administering of, in London, *temp.* Charles I. 25
 Sacrifices, human, offered in the Artemisium, 60
 Sacrificial rites, evidence of, in Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Sleaford, 387-388
 Saffron Walden, Edward VI.'s almshouses at mazer belonging to, 163-164
 St. John (Rev. H. F.), mazer belonging to, 137, 173-174
 St. John of Jerusalem, knights of, possessions of, 371
 St. Lo, consecration of church at, to St. Thomas, 303
 St. Paul (Mary de), benefaction of, to St. Paul's cathedral, 512

- Saints, images of, in St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London (1466), 40-41
- Salerno, Norman cathedral at, 419
- Salford, right of pre-emption at, 210
- Salisbury missal, evidence as to establishing general use of, 20
- Salome, representation of, at Friskney church, 285
- Salt, vessel for, used in baptism, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 443
- Samite stuff, 482
- Samoans, house life amongst the, 197
- Samson, figured on silver bason, St. Paul's cathedral, 444
- Sandals, episcopal, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 447, 474
- Sandbach, sculptured stone at, 291-292, 293
- Sandwich (A. de), prior of Canterbury (1244-1258), 178
- Sanitary condition of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London, *temp.* Edward IV. 21
- orders at Bottesford manor court, 373, 374, 376, 377, 380
- presentments in Aylesbury manor, 99
- Santon, Scandinavian sword found at, 531, 532
- Sapphire used for disease of the eyes, 444, 469
- signet of Queen Mary II. 104-115
- Sarsanet, church vestments of (1466), 39
- Sarum, road from Silchester to, 266
- Satin, church vestments of (1466), 38, 41
- Savage (Robert), will of (1391), 183
- Sawtre abbey, 192
- Saxon, *see* "Anglo-Saxon"
- Scanderford, *see* "Shalford"
- Scandinavian boat-building, 370
- stirrup, found near Romsey, 532-533
- sword, found in London, 530-532
- succession custom; 203
- *see* "Danish"
- Scardeburgh (John de), will of (1395), 183
- School, grammar, at Wells, 326
- Scolds, orders against at Bottesford manor court, 378
- Scotland, children called by mothers' name in, 213
- joint tenancies in, 205
- *see* "Brodie," "Glasgow," "Glenferness" "Harris"
- Scrope of Masham (Henry, Lord), will of (1415), 185
- Sculptured stones at Hope, 294; at Sandbach, 291-292; in Scotland, 292
- basket-work figures of men on, 286-294
- Scuta, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 443
- Seals, abbots, of the abbey of Tyrone, 255, 256
- cardinals', sixteenth century, 118-128
- of Charles I. Henrietta Maria, and Mary II. 104-115
- of Reginald, bishop of Bath (1174-1180), 352
- of the prior of Hamble, 255-256
- to charter of Henry II. 252
- of the convent of St. Swithun at Winchester, 255; at Tyrone, 255, 256, 257
- on grant by William Giffard, bishop of Winchester (1098-1128), 251-252
- of bishop Wykeham, 254
- Sebastian (St.), representation of, on seal, 119
- Sects, *see* "Albigenses," "Cathari"
- Seed capsules, used for beads, in Anglo-Saxon cemetery, 387
- Seeking-feast, custom of, at Malmesbury, 434
- Segonte (Caer), British name of Silchester, 265
- Selby (Agnes de), will of (1359), 182
- Separation of primitive groups, 200
- Serapeum, excavation of, at Silchester, 267
- Serpent-dragon, sculptured on stone pillar at Checkley, 289, 291
- Servants, swearing of, in Aylesbury manor courts, 102
- Sexton, duties of, at St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London, 21, 49
- Shalford, church of, granted to Wells cathedral, 357
- Shardlowe (Lady Ella), will of (1457), 188

- Shaw (William), lord of Bottesford manor (1595), 381
- Sheep-marks at Bottesford manor, 373
- Sheppey, priory of Minster in, 192
- Shield, boss of, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 397, 398, 399, 400, 403, 404, 405, 406
- Shirley (S. E.), mazer belonging to, 159-160
- Shrines at St. Paul's cathedral, 444-445, 452-453, 469
- Sibald (St.), church dedicated to, at Nuremberg, 3
- Signatures, marks used for, 373-374
- Signets of Charles I. Henrietta Maria, and Mary II. 104-115
- Silchester, excavations at, 263-280
- Silk, church vestments of (1466), 37, 38, 41, 42, 43, 44; (1542), 46, 48
- Silk, marble, used for vestments at St. Paul's cathedral, 450
- Silken stuffs, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 450-451, 455
- Silver armillae, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 398
- bulla, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 398
- discs, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 394, 398
- earring, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 390, 402
- ornament, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 397
- pendant, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 391, 405
- plate, *see* "Plate"
- ring, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 391, 402
- Silversmiths' work, sixteenth century, 122
- SIMPSON (W. SPARROW, D.D., F.S.A.), the inventories of the cathedral church of St. Paul, London, dated respectively 1245 and 1402, 439-524
- Six-fold division of Malmesbury corporation, 435
- Skeleton, human, discovered in Roman bath at Silchester, 274
- Skirlaw (Walter de), bishop of Durham (1407), 185; will of, 182
- Sleaford, Anglo-Saxon cemetery at, 383-406
- British remains near, 383
- Roman remains near, 384
- Smirke (Sidney), drawings of Westminster hall by, 6
- Smith (Mrs. J. W.), mazer belonging to, 150
- Soberton, possession of Hamble priory in, 253
- Sokborn (Richard), fellow of Pembroke college, Cambridge, 153
- Solemn league and covenant, signing of in London, 23
- Somersetshire, monasticon of, 360
- *see* "Banewell," "Barrow (North)," "Barrow (South)," "Bath," "Carthampton," "Ceddre," "Childcompton," "Congresbury," "Curry (North)," "Dowlishwake," "Glastonbury," "Harpetre (East)," "Haselbury," "Henstridge," "Lovinton," "Pilton," "Taunton Deane," "Timberscombe," "Wedmore," "Wells," "White Lackington," "Witham," "Wivelscombe," "Yatton"
- Sonship among the New Zealanders, 203
- South Brent, church of, belonging to the church at Wells, 356
- South Kensington museum, mazer at, 162
- South Kyme, British camp at, 383
- Southampton, land in, belonging to Hamble priory, 253
- Southwark, St. Saviour's, mazer belonging to, 135
- Southwell, manor custom of, 208
- Spade-shaped fibula discovered at Sleaford, 389, 391, 392, 394, 396, 397, 400, 403
- Spears, iron, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 390, 391, 392, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406
- Spears of Mars, mysterious moving of, at Rome, 240
- Spinae, road from Silchester to, 266
- Spiti, succession custom of, 203
- Spindle-whorl, bone, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 392

Staffordshire, *see* "Checkley," "Ilam," "Lichfield"
 Staffs, verger's, surmounted by symbolic figure, 73
 Staines, site of Pontes, 266
 Staithes, children called by mother's name at, 213
 Stanton Fitzwarren, church of, granted to Hamble priory, 253
 Stanza dei Fasti, marble wall of, 237, 245
 Staves, episcopal, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 445-446, 456, 472
 Sterling, common name of English penny, 512
 Stirrup, Scandinavian, found at Mottisfont, 532-533
 Stockholm museum, sword in, 535
 Stockings, episcopal, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 447
 Stocks, punishment by, at Aylesbury, 101
 Stockwood, manor custom of, 208
 Stone cists, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 401, 403
 Stones, sculptured, basket-work figures of men on, 286-294
 Stook, ten sheaves of corn set for stacking, 379
 Stowey, church of, granted to Wells cathedral church, 359
 Stubbard de Bury (Agnes de), will of (1418), 185
 Stubbs (Dr. W. bishop of Chester), on death of Edward II. 216
 Stucco plastering, Roman, discovered at Silchester, 278
 Succession to property, archaic laws of, 195-214; evidence for, at Malmesbury, 431, 432
 Suffolk, *see* "Ipswich," "Ixworth"
 Superstition, *see* "Eyes," "North"
 Surnames, example of early modes of acquiring, 83, 92
 Surrey, *see* "Croydon," "Lambeth," "Southwark"
 Sussex, junior right in, 214
 — *see* "Battle"

Sutton (Charles), purchase of Bottesford manor by, *temp.* Henry VIII. 371
 Swastika ornamentation on Anglo-Saxon fibula, 386, 394, 398, 401
 Sweden, prehistoric boat found in, 370
 Sword, iron, Danish, found near Wallingford, 534-536; Scandinavian, found in London, 530-532

T.

Talbot (Galfred), grant of, to Wells cathedral church, 359
 Tamil, custom of inheritance in, 208
 Taon, church at, 3
 Taranto, town of, in Italy, 416-417
 Taunton Deane, manor custom of, 208
 Tayler (William), vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, 25, 32
 Temple of Diana Aricina, near Lake of Nemi, excavations, 58-65
 — Roman, excavated at Silchester, 267, 268
 Terra-cotta, female figures, found near Lake of Nemi, 63
 — votive figures, on site of temple to Diana Aricina, 61-62, 64
 Tervueren, castle of, near Brussels, 74
 Tessellated pavements discovered at Silchester, 268, 269, 270, 271, 273, 274
 Thames, stirrup, Scandinavian, found in, 533
 — sword, Scandinavian, found in, 530-532
 Thanksgiving procession to St. Paul's cathedral (1536), 459
 Theft, presentments for, in manor of Bottesford, 373, 377
 Theodosius, bronze statue of, at Barletta, 416
 Thesawaleme code of Ceylon law, 208
 Thirteens, a section of Malmesbury corporation, 427, 430, 431

- THOMAS (GEORGE WILLIAM), on excavations in an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Sleaford, in Lincolnshire, 383-406
- Thomas (St.), canonisation of, 300; first church consecrated to, 303
- relics of, preserved in St. Paul's cathedral, 445, 471
- Thomas (St.), de Cantelupo, feast of, 502
- Thor, the hammer of 201
- "Three Cups," inn sign in Buckingham, 85
- "Three Kings" cups, examples of, 156, 157
- Thuribula, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 467, 468, 513
- Tideman de Winchcomb, bishop of Worcester, 254, 257
- Tillingham (manor of), belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 445, 470
- Timberscombe, church of, granted to Wells cathedral church, 358
- Tindal (Mr. Acton), acquisition of Aylesbury by, 88
- Tirwhitt (Marmaduke), lord of Bottesford manor (1591), 381
- Tooth, animal's, used as pendant in Anglo-Saxon grave, 391, 401, 406
- Totnes, guild organisation of, 206
- Towells, church vestments (1466), 39; (1542), 48
- Town, growth of, round the church at Wells, 811
- Township and manor, boundaries of, 371
- Traci (Oliver de), grant of, to Wells cathedral church, 358
- Trades, *see* "Barber," "Bucler-maker," "Carpenter," "Cook," "Grocer," "Painter"
- Trani, town of, in Italy, 413-414, 419
- Transvaal, land inalienable in, 204
- Travelling to York, *temp.* Edward III. 218
- dangers of, *temp.* Henry VII. 89
- Treasury (Royal), mazers in the (1337-1340), 182, 184
- Tree, mark used by masons, 4
- Trees, size of, in England, 367
- sacrificial rite connected with, at the Artemisium, 60
- bay, sacred, in the Regia at Rome, 240
- Treminet (Jocelin de), grant of, to Wells cathedral church, 357
- Trial of regicides, 29-32
- Tribal communities, Welsh, constitution of, 428
- Tribes, corporation of Malmesbury divided into, 427
- Triquetrae, ornamentation on stones at Checkley, 291
- Tunics belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1402), 454, 501-506
- Turf, regulations for cutting at Bottesford, 377
- Turquoise, found in India, 524
- Tweezers, bronze, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 390, 393, 395, 397, 401, 403
- iron, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 405
- "Twelve" (the), of Aylesbury manor, 90
- "Twenty-fours," a section of Malmesbury corporation, 427, 430
- "Twenty-two" (the), of Aylesbury manor, 90
- Twig, transference of, as symbol of landholding, 433
- Tyrone, Benedictine abbey of, 251, 252, 255

U.

- Ughtred (Sir Thomas), will of (1400), 184
- Uist, North, joint ownership in, 205
- Urn, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 395, 396, 397, 398, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 406
- Urrie (Thomas), lord of Bottesford manor (1595), 381
- Useflet (Thomas de), accounts of, for funeral of Edward II. 221

V.

- Valence (Mary de), founder of Pembroke college, Cambridge, 153
- Valhalla, custom of the, 201
- Valle (Andrea de), seal of (1517), 118-120, 125, 127

- Velvet, church vestments of (1466), 38, 39, 41, 42; (1542), 46, 47; at St. Paul's cathedral, 521
- Venta Belgarum, road from Silchester to, 263
- Venus Genetrix, temple of, at Rome, 235
- Vesta, temple of, at Rome, 227, 231-232, 235, 243
 ——— worship of, at Silchester, 267
- Vestal virgins, ceremonies at the appointment of, 244-245
- Vestments, church, inventory of (1466), 37-45; (1542), 46-48
 ——— belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 450, 485-490
- Vich (Guglielmo Raimondo de), cardinal, seal of, 123-124, 125, 127
- Vienna, imperial cabinet of antiquities at, 116-117
 ——— masons' mark on St. Stephen's at, 3
- Viking ship discovered in Norway, 370
- Villa of Cæsar (remains of), 60; of Caligula, 61
- Village, composition of the archaic, 198
- Village-community at Malmesbury, 421-438
- Villeins, Anglo-Saxon, holdings of, 207
- Vincent (St.), tooth of, preserved at St. Paul's cathedral, 445, 470
- Vineyard antiquities in Italy, 407
- Virgin (the Blessed), titles of, 76
 ——— hair of, preserved at St. Paul's cathedral, 445, 470
- Virgin and Child, representation of, 144, 163, 175; on seals, 119, 120, 123, 124, 126
- Votive figures, terra-cotta, on site of temple of Diana Aricina, 61-62, 64
- Vyner (Captain), mazer belonging to, 154
- Wales, children called by mother's name in, 213
 ——— joint rights of food in, 197
 ——— law of succession in, 205
 ——— tribal communities of, 428
- Wallingford, Danish sword-hilt found near, 534-536
- Walls, external, inscriptions on, at Rome, 236
 ——— (Roman), of Silchester, 265
- Waltham Holy Cross, religious foundation at, by Henry II. 302
 ——— mazers at abbey, 130, 193
- Walwyn (Francis), artist employed by Charles I. 112
- Wardrobe accounts, 1299, mazers mentioned in, 176
 ——— belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1402), 453
- Warenot rents [Warnott, Warnutt], lands so called, 371
- Warminster, church of, granted to Wells cathedral church, 359
- Warwickshire, *see* "Coventry"
- Wasteney (Edmund), payments to, at funeral of Edward II. 217
- Watching, duty of, at Aylesbury, 91; at London, 91, 100
- Water pipes, Roman, discovered at Silchester, 274
- Water supply, system of, in castle near Bari, 418
- Waterlot, drains so called, 373
- Wattle-work, ozier, in Saxon architecture, 68
- Wedmor, lands in, in possession of Bath cathedral (1179), 354
- Wells, history of, 311; MS. history of, by Dr. Archer, 295
 ——— bishopric of, 304, 305, 307, 311
 ——— cathedral church of, 323-346; grants to, 356-359
 ——— Vicars' College, mazer belonging to (1333-1361), 181-182
- Wenchepe (Richard de), prior of Dover (1268-1272), 177
- Westminster, mazers at, 130
 ——— standing cup of the city of, 527-529

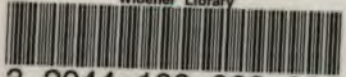
W.

- Wac (Radulf), grant of, to Wells cathedral church, 358
- Wakefield, battle of, anniversary of, kept in London, 22
- Walenton, church and manor of, in possession of Bath cathedral (1179), 354

- Westminster Abbey, possessions of, at Deerhurst, 66-67
 ——— Hall, architecture of, 5-8; masons' marks at, 1-4; west side of, 9-16
 White Lackington, church of, granted to Wells cathedral church, 357
 Whitehead (Jeffrey), mazer belonging to, 149-150, 175
 Wicker-work, *see* "Basket-work"
 Widow, origin of manorial rights of, 208
 William II. hall of, at Westminster, 5-8
 William (Bishop of London), shrine of, at St. Paul's cathedral, 445, 470
 Willoughby (Isabella de), will of (1415), 185
 Willoughby (Sir Hugh), will of (1448), 187
 Willows, orders for planting, at Bottesford manor, 380
 Wilton (Isabel), will of (1486), 189
 Wiltshire, *see* "Aldeborne," "Bradenstoke," "Crickelade," "Malmesbury," "Stanton Fitzwarren," "Warminster"
 Winchester, right of pre-emption at, 210
 ——— site of Venta Belgarum, 266
 ——— cathedral, Wykeham's chantry at, 254-255; masons' mark in, 3
 ——— convent of St. Swithin at, 253-255
 ——— college, alien priory at Hamble transferred to, 251-262
 Window-glass, Roman, discovered at Silchester, 273
 Windsor Castle, representation of on cope at St. Paul's cathedral, 448; Wren's drawings of, 9
 Witham, religious foundation at, *temp.* Henry II. 302, 307, 308
 Witham, river, Scandinavian, stirrup, found in, 533
 ——— Scandinavian sword found in, 531, 535
 Wiseman (Cardinal), signet belonging to, 106, 107
 Wivelescumb, church and villa of, in possession of Bath cathedral, 354
 Wokyndon family, interest of in St. Paul's cathedral, 511
 Wolsey (Cardinal), plate of, 191
 Wood, fine for cutting at Bottesford manor, 375
 Wooderove (Robert), will of (1501), 191
 Wool, dragged off by bushes, a manorial perquisite, 382
 Worldham, West, chapel of, grant of to Hamble priory, 253
 Worms, earth, work of at Silchester, 271
 Worship, joint rights of, 197-198
 Worsted, cloth, 516; church vestments of (1466), 42; (1542) 46
 Wren (Sir C.), drawings of Westminster hall by, 9-10
 Wulfric (the hermit), scene of life and miracles of, 357
 Württemberg, succession custom in, 204
 Wyclyff (Robert de), rector of Rudby (*temp.* 1423), 186
 Wykeham (bishop of Winchester), decree by, 254; chantry of, at Winchester cathedral, 254-255
 Wyman (Henry), goldsmith of York, 147
 Wymbyssch (Thomas), will of (1447), 187
 Wynesford, church of, granted to bishop of Wells, 317
- Y.
- Yatton, villa of, in possession of Bath cathedral (1179), 353
 York, gild of Corpus Christi, 148
 ——— cathedral, inventory of, 440; mazer at, 131, 133, 146-149
 ——— mazers belonging to inhabitants of, 182, 183, 185, 186, 187, 191
 Yorke (Thomas), lord of manor of Bottesford (1547), 372
 Yorkshire, East Riding, lands called "Warnutt," rents in, 372
 ——— *see* "Doncaster," "Hull," "Staithes," "Wakefield"

OCT 26 1917

W

Widener Library

3 2044 100 062 884